IDEOLOGIES IN PRACTICE : THE CONTEXT OF THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that whilst registered as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the Council for National Academic Awards, I have not been a registered candidate for another award of the Council, nor of a University.

The following activities comprising the programme of related studies have been undertaken:

1. University of Surrey SPSSX course;
2. University of Essex Data Analysis, (Summer School);
3. University of Manchester, Research Study Skills Course (Summer School);
4. Attendance at and participation in the 1989 Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association, Plymouth;
5. Attendance at and participation in the British Sociological Association Youth Study Group conferences;
6. A course of reading guided by the supervisors.

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Abstract

The central concern in the thesis is the relationship between the 'concept of ideology' and the philosophies, motivations and lived experience of Youth Training Scheme (YTS) trainees and trainers. This incorporates both the application, effects and impact of official ideologies, expressed in youth policy initiatives and ideologies of the wider society. This in turn is related to the cultural and societal reproduction of young people as gendered and class specific workers in a segmented labour market.

The empirical data were collected over a 20 month period at two off-the-job training establishments in the city of Surfton in the South West region of Britain and consisted of questionnaires participant observations and interviews.

The first part of the thesis critically reviews the social science literature relating to the new vocationalism, the YTS, labour market segmentation and the concept of ideology. This establishes a series of theoretical concerns which are then tested against empirical data. The thesis demonstrates how formalised official ideologies are mediated through the YTS curriculum and affect the philosophies of both the trainers who implement this curriculum and the trainees who receive this curriculum. The thesis illustrates that YTS participants may support, reinterpret or subvert the official philosophies of the YTS by actually bringing meaning into their lived experiences via ideologies associated with their historical, positional, family class and gendered backgrounds. The thesis will show that the trainees learn not so much technical knowledge, but how to acquire the ideological and practical cultural meanings of a series of workers for a segmented labour market, with greater or lesser collusion from their trainers.

The thesis contributes to existing knowledge both at the level of data generation and by illustrating a series of complex, refined and subtle ideological mechanisms which contribute further to our understanding of the microsociology of inequality.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

From 1950 to the mid 1970s the sociological focus of attention was centred around the concepts of 'equality of opportunity', the job choices of young people and the somewhat uninterrupted transition period between school and work. Since the late 1970s, the emergence of mass youth unemployment has created a new focus which concentrates on youth unemployment, broken transitions, the purpose of state schooling, training and the segmentation of the youth labour market. During the 1980s and now into the 1990s the theoretical emphasis has been on the failure of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) to reduce inequalities in the labour market.

The central concern in this thesis is the relationship between the 'concept of ideology' and Youth Training Scheme (YTS) trainees and their trainers. In this thesis I intend to use the 'concept of ideology' in three important ways. First, as a broad and interlinked set of philosophies that YTS participants hold about the kinds of motiviations they have and what factors influence these motivations. I have termed these 'societal ideologies'. Second, ideology must be seen not only in the realm of human action, but also, as a lived experience which works through individuals manifesting itself in their historical, positional, family, gendered and class backgrounds. Third, it will be shown, also, how the concept of ideology is inscribed in material culture and is formalised and concretised in social policy initiatives, curriculum packages and official documentation. Thus, formalised ideologies tend to reflect the needs of production (NOP) of a modern capitalist economy, concentrating primarily on the 'training' elements of the scheme. Ideologies which I have termed 'holistic', on the other hand, emphasise the 'educational' aspects of the YTS. From April 1987 to the summer of 1988, using a combination of questionnaires, participant observation, group and individual interviews, I traced the experiences and perspectives of 150 trainees and 15 of their trainers/tutors as they progressed through the scheme. Although the research did generate data on the

YTS as a whole, my main focus was directed at the off-the-job training (OJT) element of the scheme.[1]

The research took place in the city of Surfton in the South West of Britain. Two OJT centres were chosen for the project. The first, I have named the 'Danby Centre Ltd', which is a medium sized Private Training agency that forms part of a national network of agencies which promote schemes in the distributive and retail sectors. The second centre, I have termed the 'Marton Annex', which belongs to the local Further Education College, and is funded by South West Skills (SWS) a major Managing Agent sponsored by the County Council offering a whole range of schemes, eg. clerical, construction, catering, social care etc.

Due to the constant changes throughout the whole of YTS (see Chapters two and four), such as the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) becoming the Training Commission (TC) then the Training Agency (TA), readers may find the terms I use somewhat out of date or ambiguous. The above changes took place whilst I was conducting my fieldwork. Thus, sometimes in the thesis I may use the term MSC, for example, if I am documenting the historical developments of the Commission. However, for the purposes of clarity I have chosen the following abbreviation: MSC/TC/TA. Similar ambiguity occurs with the terms YTS 'trainer' and 'tutor'. The terms are inter-changeable, but, as chapter six shows sometimes YTS staff either just provide the OJT teaching input to the trainees or they may be responsible for providing both the off-the-job and on-the-job (work experience) components of the scheme. Thus, the terms can be used separately or as 'trainer/tutor'.

The one year Youth Training Scheme launched in 1983 - which was extended to two years in 1986 - marked an important departure from previous job creation initiatives in so far as it provided an off-the-job educational element for each trainee for a minimum of 20 weeks over the two year period. The off-the-job element was designed to complement the on-the-job work experience in such a way as to lead to a range of educational qualifications - some old, but

many of them new ones. In this way education and work experience were to be integrated.

The off-the-job training was organised like the YTS itself - around a range of 'occupational groups' and the Managing Agents could either provide this themselves if they had the facilities (usually the case in larger companies), or they could rent the services of one of the growing numbers of private training centres or alternatively they could hire the services of the local Further Education College. The MSC/TC/TA also provided curriculum guidelines and suggestions for the off-the-job training element and these were designed to introduce the trainee to aspects of the theory behind their occupational area, basic literacy and numeracy skills where required as well as 'social and life skills' or 'personal development' and 'personal effectiveness' as they are now known. The latter element could include interviewing skills which were thought to be lacking. The only thing explicitly forbidden was any political education. (A full discussion of the YTS is given in Chapter Four).

These various elements of training were put together in such a way as to enhance the human capital of trainees in a 'profile'; - that is, a record of their achievements in and out of work, which was recorded in recognition with a YTS trainer/tutor, eg., an individual testimony, thus helping to increase the confidence of the trainee and provide a source of information for employers.

However, since the Scheme was introduced rapidly and then frequently reorganised, the curriculum was often not well thought out or well tested and this allowed scope for interpretation by trainers and trainees. Thus the off-the-job element of the Youth Training Scheme poses some interesting problems. On the one hand it is part of a vocational training system, narrowly defined as equipping young people with specific skills for specific jobs, but on the other hand it is also supposed to provide - in a fairly limited way - an 'education for life'.

This development of the 'new vocationalism' occupying a new social terrain somewhere between work and education becomes particularly problematic with regard to the off-the-job training: here, the contradiction between educational and vocational philosophies are particularly acutely posed. The government's preference for the dominance of the latter over the former is reflected in the encouragement of the use of private training centres over Further Education Colleges - the traditional provider of vocational education. However, many of the trainers working within the apparatus of the MSC/TC/TA still prefer a broader interpretation of education. The trainer is at the sharp end of the YTS, their's is the job of actually carrying out a new and changing curriculum, whilst the trainee is at the receiving end of a constantly revised scheme. In the last seven years, for example, the scheme has 'progressed' from YTS1 to YTS2 (where the research took place) and as from June 1990, there is a proposed replacement of a unified scheme, by a variety of Youth Training programmes, (see Chapter Four).

The MSC/TC/TA and the YTS should not be seen as monolithic institutions, but rather they encompass a range of people at different levels with a range of interpretations of their roles. The 'official ideology' is that young people are being trained to improve the quality of their own skills and those of the British labour force in general. The off-the-job element should thus provide back-up for skills training as well as improving the 'employability' of trainers more generally. In the rhetoric surrounding the Scheme the government has justified the investment of billions of pounds in order to solve the problems of youth unemployment and compensate for the alleged deficiencies of the education system in turning out unemployable youths. This 'official ideology' was further reinforced in a multi-million pound advertising campaign, glossy brochures and advertising hype.

It is evident that the new vocationalism in general and the YTS in particular, have developed within a climate of ideological discourses on training. As stated above, using a combination of questionnaires participant observation and interviews, this thesis explores the way in which ideologies become 'official' through their deliverance in the

policy making process and are then imposed from above. The problem for the research is how does this official ideology get transmitted to the people who actually deliver the YTS curriculum - the trainers - and how do the young people - the trainees - receive this official ideology. Furthermore, what philosophies do both the trainees and the trainers employ when they transform this official ideology during their day-to-day lived experiences. Ideology is not unified, it exists at many different levels and is fragmented and diversified. Within the scheme itself, for example, there is evidence of sceptism and the development of subversive ideologies. For this reason it is important to consider the position of those who actually carry out the training and those who receive it. Hence, our understanding of the role of ideology within the policy process is advanced by analysing its reinterpretation by actors in their day-to-day reality. This thesis then, will demonstrate that there is a need for detailed studies which document the effects of policy changes as they are experienced by those involved in the implementation of policy at the micro level. The thesis will show that there is a difference between the official rhetoric at the macro level and the language and beliefs at the grassroots. These differences need to be exposed so that our perception of the policy making process is clear. Further, it will be demonstrated how different ideologies work themselves through and intertwine between and within the following four categories. First, the establishment and their social policy initiatives. Second, the classroom encounters of YTS trainers and their trainees. Third, the cultural and social reproduction process and fourthly, the segmentation of youth labour markets.

The Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter Two my aim is to focus on the origins of vocational education and training. There is a need to establish how and why it has developed in recent years and how traditional forms of education, training and jobs available to young people, have been restructured. This is necessary in order to place the YTS in an appropriate social terrain.

There are four elements to this terrain. This chapter will describe, analyse and explain, first; the rapid rise in youth unemployment; second, the segmentation of youth labour markets; third, the loss of confidence in Britain's state schooling and lastly, the prominent role that the Manpower Services Commission played in this process. The main emphasis in this Chapter is to concentrate on the role of ideology within this social terrain. It will be demonstrated that there are two diverse ideologies on the purpose of schooling and vocational education. The first advocates a more humanitarian and holistic philosophy, whereas the second emphasises the importance of education and the needs of production in a capitalist economy. It will be seen that there has been a philosophical movement from the former ideology towards a new social terrain which consists of the latter ideology. Thus it is not just the social terrain that affects the subjects of this research - the trainers and trainees - but also, they need to be placed in an appropriate ideological terrain.

The object of Chapter Three is to make explicit the theoretical structure within which the analysis of the research is constructed. It will be seen that the concept of ideology, although being highly ambiguous, vague and complex, can be used as an analytical tool in the study of the lived experiences and perspectives of YTS trainers and trainees. This reveals that YTS participants are not simply passive receptors of official ideologies, but interpreters of scheme policies in the light of their own situations and histories. This chapter also shows how the concept of ideology highlights a variety of subtle mechanisms, at the micro level, which culturally and socially, reproduce existing inequalities in the general life chances of YTS trainees.

Several major areas will be discussed in Chapter Four. First, the formal structure, design and philosophies of the YTS need to be described. Thus, just as it is deemed necessary to give an account of the new vocationalism in order to contextualise the YTS (Chapter Two) then it follows that the scheme itself needs to be accounted for, so that the subjects of this research - trainers and trainees - can also be placed in the context of ideological, historical, social and economic change.

Second, specific attention will focus on how the formalised ideologies associated with the scheme manifests itself in concrete form through the medium of the written word, cultural practices and the general curriculum of off-the-job training. This is necessary because a problem for the research is the need to understand how ideologies are developed and sustained and how this phenomenon affects YTS participants. Three, the many criticisms aimed at the scheme will be outlined. It will be shown here that formal and official ideologies and discourses tend to mask these criticisms, preferring instead, to concentrate on the 'positive benefits' of the scheme. Fourth, the thread which runs through this chapter is the documentation of the constant practical and ideological scheme changes which made the research act a very complex process indeed.

Chapter Five seeks to explain this research act. The data generating process created two concerns for the research. First, if the YTS participants are affected by ideologies then it was necessary to employ the appropriate methodological instruments that would allow for the location, description and analysis of ideologies amongst them. In other words, how could an ideology be spotted? Second, the problem of ideology forming a source of bias whilst in the field was also a major concern. For example, I too was affected by ideologies which could result in creating a series of ideological dilemmas for the research act. The chapter demonstrates three methodological tools that allow for these problems to be alleviated. First, as stated in Chapter Three the concept of ideology can be utilised as a way of analysing an array of ideologies amongst YTS participants. Second, the triangulated method of inquiry was employed, thus, questionnaires, participant observation, group and individual interviews result in the areas under study to be understood as fully as possible. Third an account is given of the way that my 'self' as a researcher and the sociological imagination operated when generating data, thus highlighting my experiences in actually producing sociology.

Chapter Six, Seven and Eight analyse these data in much more detail than the previous chapters. Chapter Six focuses on the experiences and ideologies of YTS trainers and tutors. The problem for the research is how do these formal ideologies of the official YTS curriculum actually filter down to the trainers who implement this curriculum? We need to know how formalised ideologies and ideologies from the wider society work through the trainers and are acted out in the off-the-job training arena in their efforts to make sense of the curriculum. It shows that there are two models of trainer ideologies. Whilst all trainers may be critical of certain aspects of the scheme, the ideologies of 'Holistic' trainers can be seen as forming part of an ideology subversive to 'official ideologies within the YTS, whereas, trainers who hold a Needs of Production (NOP) ideology are more likely to align themselves with the formal curriculum of the scheme. Furthermore, any autonomy that the trainers may create for themselves within this formal curriculum is also influenced by either their Holistic or NOP ideologies. In general, these two different trainer ideologies are reflected in their orientations towards the Scheme, the politics surrounding the new vocationalism their relationship with the MSC/TC/TA, Managing Agents, employers and trainees, as well as their own teaching styles and philosophies.

Chapter Seven focuses on four areas. My first aim is to show that the life chances of trainees are influenced even before they enter a particular scheme by a variety of practical and ideological screening processes which determines whether or not the trainees are placed either on 'good or bad quality schemes', which in turn influences where they are placed in a segmented labour market. Second, the data shows that there exists a significant relationship between the particular occupational groups that trainees are placed within and trainee alignments towards the official YTS curriculum and its associated formalised ideological packaging.

Third, that the occupational group variable also influences trainee ideologies towards their trainers. Thus, those trainees placed within higher status groups are likely to have a stronger rapport with their trainers than those on lower quality schemes. Fourth, it

will be shown that the status of an occupational group forms new subtle class fractions within certain sectors of working class youth.

Chapter Eight also concentrates on data from the trainees and covers four areas. The research shows firstly, how in some senses, the trainees by-pass the off-the-job training system and create their own autonomy which is influenced by specific occupational cultures and societal ideologies associated with class, sexuality and gender. The research problem here, like that of the trainers, is to establish how these ideologies actually work through the trainees and manifest themselves in their behaviour, language and beliefs. Second, the off-the-job training arena acts as a holding mechanism which allows them to practice these ideologies with greater or lesser collusion from their trainers. Third, although trainee philosophies, discourses and behaviour patterns seem on the surface to be radical in form, they do not challenge the cultural and social reproductive process as these are ideologically maintained by the trainees themselves. Fourth, the thesis will show that despite previous research which indicates that the YTS is a vehicle of cultural and social reproduction, my own research does demonstrate a vast array of complex, refined and subtle ideological reproductive mechanisms which form the 'microsociology of inequality' [Lee et al 1987].

CHAPTER TWO

UNEMPLOYMENT, LABOUR MARKETS, SCHOOLING AND THE MSC: THE SOCIAL TERRAIN OF THE NEW VOCATIONALISM

> The kind of education in which I am interested is not one which will adapt workers to the existing industrial regime; I am not sufficiently in love with the regime for that. It seems to me that the business of all those who would not be educational time-servers is to resist every move in this direction, and to strive for a kind of vocational education which will first alter the existing industrial system and ultimately transform it.
> (The influential liberal American educationalist John Dewey commenting in the 1920s. Quoted in Finn, 1987, pp193-94)

> In addition to their responsibility for the academic curriculum, schools must prepare their pupils for the transition to adult and working life. Young people need to be equipped with a basic understanding of the functioning of our democratic political system, of the mixed economy and the industrial activities, especially manufacturing, which create our national wealth ... industry, the trades unions and commerce should now be involved in curriculum planning processes.
> (From an HMSO document 1977 pp22 and 44. Quoted in Ainley, 1988 p64)

The quotations above illustrate two diverse ideologies on the purpose of schooling and vocational education. The first advocates a more humanitarian and holistic philosophy, whereas, the second emphasises the importance of education and the needs of production in a capitalist economy. The purpose of this chapter is to describe, explain and analyse the movement from the former ideology towards a new social terrain which consists of the latter ideology. This is necessary in order to contextualise the YTS and its participants which are the subject of this research. The four factors which characterise this terrain - mass youth unemployment, youth labour markets, a loss of confidence in Britain's schools and the role of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), now known as the Training Agency (TA) - will be discussed. First a brief outline of an

appropriate conceptualisation of the new vocationalism and its associated ideology is necessary.

The ideology of the new vocationalism is still evolving but it can be located in the years from 1976 to 1989. It has four distinctive features (Dale 1985). First it is intended for the 14 to 18 age group and is aimed much more at the lower two-thirds of the ability range than those who take the more traditional academic curriculum. However, recently the philosophies associated with the new vocationalism have become associated with Enterprise in Higher Education (EHE), thus encompassing a much larger population group (see Chapter Four). Second, it is not just confined to training young people for jobs. It is claimed that, as a result of high unemployment levels there is a need also to prepare young people for life. These core beliefs advocate that young people should adjust their attitudes and expectations accordingly. Third, the new vocationalism largely retains the role that education and training has had in the past, in the generation and legitimation of inequalities according to a young person's gender, race and class. Fourth, although it has a wide range of support at the highest levels, it is still criticised by teachers, administrators, politicians, trade unionists, educationalists and young people, who hold wider views about the purposes of education. However, many individuals do see this neo liberal attempt to shift the influence away from any one profession towards industry and commerce as a positive move. Thus accompanying this shift are pedagogical ideologies which stress the relevance of a need for training.

The Growth of Unemployment

Growing unemployment has been a major factor in the rise of the new vocationalism with a decline in job opportunities on a scale not seen since the 1930s. The period from the end of the Second World War until the beginning of the 1970s was one of continuously high employment. Three important factors have contributed to the rapid rise in unemployment since this period. First, the size of the labour force has increased, thus, greater numbers of the population are now seeking employment. Therefore, there has emerged a contradictory growth in employment and unemployment at the same time. Second,

structural inequality emerged resulting in certain groups of workers, especially the young, becoming more vulnerable to unemployment than other groups. (see below for a discussion on this). Third, and much more importantly, Britain's economic problems have rapidly increased and were exacerbated by the international oil crises of 1973 and the recession of the 1970s and 1980s.

During the 1950s and 1960s the average rate of recorded unemployment was 1.5 per cent, between 1971 and 1975 this rose to 3.5 per cent and continued to increase under the then Labour Government until 1977 when unemployment exceeded 1.3 million (Unemployment Bulletin, 1988). In 1979 following the election of a Conservative Government, unemployment escalated. In 1980 the average unemployment rate for Britain was 7 per cent, rising to 10 per cent in 1981 and 12 per cent in 1982. In 1986 the official figure was over 12 per cent, representing over 3 million people (Pollard, Purvis and Walford, 1988 p 6).

Some of the major job losses occurred eighteen months after the Conservative Government first came to office in 1979. This period saw the number of people employed in the manufacturing sector fall by nearly a million and for the first time since the war the number of people employed in the service industries declined by almost a quarter of a million (Aaronovitch, 1981 p7). Despite the period from 1979 to 1986 seeing the emergence of 150,000 new jobs in banking and finance, 80,000 in the health service and 30,000 in the hotel and catering trade, there have been 339,000 job losses from the mining industry and a further 700,000 has been lost in the transportation equipment industry (New Society Database, Dec 1986). In 1988 unemployment had fallen below the 3 million threshold and 'officially' has continued to fall, nearly every month, up to 1990.

However, the above figures are ambiguous because in recent years it has been suggested (Youthaid 1979; Roberts et al, 1981; and the Labour Movement in general) that there exists a substantial amount of 'unregistered unemployment'. The TUC, for example, believes that the Government has artificially depressed the real figure. It estimates that if the figures were calculated in the way

they were in 1982, there would be at least another 250,000 on the register (mainly married women). In March 1983 the government decided that men over 60 claiming long-term supplementary benefit (now income support) would no longer have to sign on. This removed another 200,000. Teenagers on the YTS are also included bringing the total to over 1 million claimants who are excluded from the official figures (New Society Database, 1985, p268).

Within this overall picture the job and training prospects for young people changed dramatically. In the early 1960s the youth unemployment rate was not dissimilar to that of adults, but afterwards the relative position of young people grew steadily worse. Between January 1972 and January 1977, for example, overall unemployment increased by 45 per cent, but for those under twenty it had risen by 120 per cent. By January 1981 unemployment amongst under 18 year olds reached nearly 20 per cent and amongst 18 to 25 year olds was over 17 per cent (Unemployment Bulletin, 1988). Indeed an important report prepared for the Government in 1981 estimated that by the end of 1983 between 50 per cent and 70 per cent of the labour force under 18 might never have had a proper job (Time Out May/June, 1983).

Employers also cut back on the training of young people. Traditional apprenticeships, for example, run by industrial training boards, were sharply reduced. In 1964 there were 240,000 apprenticeships in Britain. In 1979 this figure had declined to 155,000 and by 1983 it had dropped further to 102,000 and again to 73,200 in 1985 and was down to 63,700 in 1986 (New Society Data Base, August 1986). Still further, problems for young people can be seen from figures for January 1987 which show that there were over one and quarter million under twenty five year olds registered as unemployed with some half a million of this total being unemployed for over six months (National Youth Bureau 1987 p12). A similar trend of massaging the unemployment statistics, as indicated earlier, is also apparent in regard to the young unemployed. Paul Convery of the Unemployment Unit in London reminds us that since 1979 there have been fifteen changes in benefit rules affecting young people and their parents. One such example is the well publicised board and lodging

regulations which force many young unemployed to be mobile every few weeks, thus reducing their rights to benefits and consequently, removing them from the unemployment statistics (Unemployment Bulletin - Statistical Supplement, July 1988).

Overall, national figures mask regional, class, gender, ethnic group and age-related variations. Therefore unemployment is not only disproportionately felt by those people in the north of the country, by the working class, by ethnic groups and by women, but by those who are young. It has been noted by Buswell (1986 Chap 4), for example, that 'youth' like adult unemployment is not distributed evenly across localities. Buswell points out that some locations suffer the hardships of unemployment worse than the recession of the 1930s. She notes that the 'Juvenile Employment Service' in Newcastle recorded 877 vacancies in the first quarter of 1934 compared with 206 for the same period in 1984. Unemployment of young people in the city represents 20 per cent of the total and there was half as many vacancies in 1984 as there was in the 1960s for the same number of school leavers.

What has occurred during this rapid rise in youth unemployment is that during the 1970s and 1980s the labour markets that young people enter into have become increasingly segmented. It is necessary to discuss the implications of this phenomena in more detail, as it will be seen that the YTS takes place within the context of occupational restructuring which has altered the balance of employment available for more organised groups of workers who displace weaker ones.

Furthermore, this situation is ideologically justified. The thesis will show, for example, that during off-the-job training societal ideologies flourish amongst YTS participants which results in the trainees actually aiding and abeting in their own reproduction as classed and gendered workers. In this sense the trainees 'learn to labour' for a segmented youth labour market.

The Segmentation of Youth Labour Markets

> Until recently the study of the structure of the youth labour market has attracted scant attention from sociologists and economists. However, empirical enquiries into the youth labour market, together with the developments in segmentation theory, now make it possible to provide a more adequate analysis of its structure.
> (Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury in Brown and Ashton (eds), 1987 p160)

Early studies of labour markets, such as those of Bosanquet and Doeringer (1973) suggested a dual labour market theory which consisted of an internal and external labour market. The characteristics of the former consisted of occupations which offered scope for training, had promotion prospects and were secure with above average salaries, whilst the jobs in the external category were insecure, had poor conditions of service and had low levels of pay. Similar dual models were propounded by Barron and Norris (1976). Their primary labour markets consisted of secure, protected and unionised occupations, whilst the features of the secondary sector are low skill levels, few prospects and unstable employment patterns.

These secondary labour markets argue Barron and Norris are predominantly occupied by marginal groups of workers, such as sectors of the working class, including large numbers of women, ethnic groups and the young. These dual labour market theories were used to analyse labour markets in general, although Walker (1982) does apply them specifically to young people. These models have been criticised by two of the leading writers in the field, Ashton and Maguire (1984) who argue that they tend to oversimplify our understanding of the structure of the labour market by reducing it to two non-competing groups.

In a later paper, Ashton, Maguire and Spilsbury (1987) remind us that a number of variables may influence the character of youth labour markets. Thus a particular firm's product market, the level of competition it faces, its product or service, technology and internal organisation, are all seen as important factors influencing its employment strategy, '... but the relationships are no longer seen as

determinate' (p162) as many other variables also influence employment strategies.

Ashton et al also cite other researchers for their contribution to the debate, such as the importance of management control systems (Gordon et al, 1982) and the significance of forms of employment regulation Rubery et al (1984) such as, trade union organization, professional associations and training systems and how these contain management options. Rubery (1978) is again mentioned for highlighting the importance of a differential or segmented labour supply.

Ashton and Maguire, do acknowledge these segmented theories as shifting away from neo-classical economists accounts of labour markets that emphasise the quality of workers as opposed to the quality of jobs in determining job structures. They extend this approach and point out that youth labour markets have several dimensions, such as 'age segmentation', whereby young people '... may be excluded from consideration, sheltered from competition from adults, or be in direct competition with adults' (p163). Sex segmentation is also an important variable, thus the labour market reflects gender specific occupations and gender specific roles, which leads to young women being sexually discriminated against. Racial segmentation with its associated discriminatory practices also makes access to existing jobs that much more difficult for certain ethnic minorities.

Ashton et al also include four 'skill or occupation segments' ranging from professional jobs, through to clerical and secretarial occupations, followed by skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual jobs. They note that the '... specific jobs which comprise each of these segments and the career chances they provide differs for males and females thereby creating eight segments' (p164-65).

Many other studies such as Hockley (1984); Spilsbury (1985); Roberts et al (1986); Coles (1986); Stern and Turbin (1986); Church and Ainley (1987) and again Ashton and Maguire (1988) have started to concentrate on the relationship between local labour markets and

the life chances of young people. Thus, as we have seen, the declining demand for youth labour in the 1970s and 1980s has meant that the majority of young people have become very reliant on what the local community and especially the local labour market can offer. Indeed Lee (1987 pp139-40) points to the 1986 study by Ashton and Maguire as a graphic illustration of this phenomenon when they claim that the:

> ...chances of the sons of middle class fathers in Sunderland finding employment were less than those of some lower working class families in St Albans.

This finding shows that the 'class segmentation variable' is not the most prominent mechanism in the chances of obtaining employment and type of employment obtained, as the local labour market affects employment chances, independent of personal attributes and social background.

The introduction of the YTS as a mediator between school and work is influenced by the character of the local labour market which in turn influence the structure of training and determines the employment prospects of YTS leavers. In this sense the YTS represents no more than a surrogate labour market for youth (Lee et al, 1987), simply because its organisation reflects the sources of segmentation which operate within it. More importantly here is that the YTS also reflects the ideologies of labour market segmentation such as, classism, sexism, racism and ageism.

It can be stated from the above that the chances of a young person finding employment do not depend chiefly on the quality and content of vocationally relevant courses, but depend primarily on the structure of the labour market. It has been shown (Raffe, 1984) that between 1979-84 youth unemployment has changed from a relatively short-term, frictional problem to one of a much longer duration with such labour market movements that still do occur tending to be in and out of schemes rather than in and out of jobs. The problem of youth unemployment is one of young people's failure to secure jobs rather than a failure to keep them.

What has occurred in the 1980s is that the traditional transitions from school to work have been restructured. As Roberts (1984) reminds us:

> ... instead of a transition from school to work the normal sequence became from school to schemes to jobs, with spells of unemployment complicating and sometimes preventing progress. (p84)

The point again here is that we must not forget the crucial role that ideology plays in this restructuring process. Thus we need to ask: how do individuals come to absorb the ideologies embedded in segmented labour markets? One way is through socialisation. Socialisation theories, argues Furlong (1987) help to explain '... seemingly erratic labour market behaviour of young people and their resistance to the limited opportunities available' (p 57). Whilst Lee et al suggest that the '... socialisation of young workers into appropriate orientations to work is an essential element in the creation and continuance of segments in the adult economy itself' (p 156).

Cockburn (1987) also highlights socialization factors. In her study of young women's experiences of YTS, she has shown the way in which stereotypes and assumptions about women's position in society ideologically structures the movement of women through the scheme which she describes as a system of two-track training: with males entering skilled manual, technician and manufacturing schemes and females entering community health care and sales schemes. These mechanisms, claims Cockburn, involve far more than just a conscious discrimination.

Thus YTS participants enter the scheme already ideologically socialised into accepting specific gender, class, and segmented labour market cultures. The concern in this thesis is: how do these ideologies enter the consciousness of YTS participants and how are they expressed through the medium of their discourses, behaviour patterns and their general day-to-day lived realities.

Moral Panic

It can be seen so far that there have been profound changes in the employment patterns of young people. There has been a shift

away from large numbers of employed 'low academic achievers' during the 1950s and 1960s and early 1970s, to large numbers of unemployed 'low academic achievers' since this time. This situation has caused much concern for the establishment, many of whom have tended to express themselves in common sense, cliched, stereotypical discourses that are influenced by an array of 'societal ideologies' (this term is discussed in chapter three). They often seek to explain this situation by suggesting:

> that not only have such individuals failed to step on the ladder of personal development (i.e. 'failing themselves'), but they have also failed to gain access to the merry-go-round of employment ('failing society by failing to contribute to productive capacity'). This double 'failure' is punishable by economic and social dispossession (i.e. poverty). However, in the 1980s can we be so sure that these individuals are being punished for crimes that they committed? (Jeffcutt, 1987 p17)

These popular notions and moral panics[1] suggest also, that unemployed working class youth are 'lazy', socially incompetent, a 'threat to the social order' and 'cannot' cope with life in general and the transition to work in particular. It has been noted, (Moore, 1984) that there is no evidence to support this. In fact for many working class young people they are members of working communities and they are brought up to work, they gain direct knowledge through parents, relations, friends and from part-time jobs. Therefore, they already know about the 'world of work' before they leave school.

This popular notion attributed to 'youth' as a 'problem' is not a new social phenomenon, as Horne (1986) points out, similar popular beliefs surrounded the introduction of the 'Dole Schools' during mass, youth unemployment of the 1930s. Furthermore the 'moral panic' associated with unemployed youth, who are often seen as a 'threat to the social order' is also incorrect, as Mungham (1982) notes, historically, young people have never shown any real revolutionary potential. On the contrary youth:

> has itself been seen as threatened and at risk. It is a fragile, vulnerable stage of physical and personal development through which we must pass to

> independence and maturity. Its disruption could pose threats to an individual's subsequent social and economic development.
> (Finn, 1987 p5)

Indeed, there exists a division of opinion (Roberts, 1984) on the extent and ways in which young people are damaged due to the experience of being unemployed. Unemployment is more harmful to adults, than young people, simply because the latter have no occupational identities to shatter. However, unemployment does harm people (Stern, 1982). Whilst research by Banks and Ullah (1986) suggest that the 'experience of unemployment is more likely to create increased harmful psychological symptoms' (p77).

It is not a question of young people being blamed solely for their predicament argue Benn and Fairley (1986). However, in anticipation of an actual outcome (i.e. a return to full employment) they are being invited to discover in their own cultures a general lack of motivation, discipline and skill and to prove that 'anyone can make it if they try'. These popular notions, suggest that the fault of the economy is not the 'system's' fault or the government's fault, but the fault lies with individuals, whether they be a lone worker or individuals within trade unions. It is said that problems in schools are due to a 'lack of vocationalism', that problems in Further Education are as a result of 'out of date' practices, that if you belong to an ethnic group, then you have 'culture difficulties'. Yet all the time, the establishment allow employers the right or knowledge to define employability which ideologically justifies the needs of production in a capitalist economy.

Unemployment thus, must always be seen as a public issue, as Mills (1959) tells us from the 'Sociological Imagination':

> When, in a city of 100,000 only one man is unemployed, that is his personal trouble, and for its relief we properly look to the character of the man, his skills, and his immediate opportunities. But when in a nation of 50 million employees, 15 million men are unemployed, that is an issue, and we may not hope to find its solution within the range of opportunities open to any one individual. The very structure of the problem and the range of possible solutions require us to consider the economic and political

> institutions of the society, and not merely the personal situation and character of a scatter of individuals. (p15)

Youth unemployment therefore, is a public and a political issue and the state has sought vocational solutions to the problem. As Finn (1987) notes:

> ... as youth unemployment continued to grow, it became apparent that it was not merely caused by the recession or poor quality of school leavers but was part of a more fundamental shift in employment patterns. The conclusion increasingly, drawn was that the nature of the relationship between minimum school leavers and the labour market required a permanent change. (p113)

It can be deduced from this chapter so far, that the rapid rise in youth unemployment and the characteristics of the youth labour market has prompted the establishment, and in turn, large sectors of the general public, to propagate the ideology of feckless youth. This phenomenon has then become a prominent spur for social policy development as the next section will demonstrate. This will then indicate a further aim of the thesis, which is to show how ideologies become concretised in social policy initiatives towards the jobs, training and education of Britain's youth. (see Chapters Three and Four).

Schools, Industry and the New Vocationalism

The third factor which led to the development of the new vocationalism was a loss of confidence in the function of Britain's schooling. It was argued as early as 1963, in the 'Newsom Report' that educational policy in regard to low academic achievers should be directed towards 'social education', 'work experience', 'vocational preparation' and 'personal development'. Newsom advised raising the school leaving age to 16 with the last year spent off site in F.E. colleges and on work experience. This was linked with the then 'Youth Employment Service'. It was envisaged that learning in the last years at school should be related to an out going employment programme.

The material results of the Newsom Report were the Newsom department, Newsom teachers, Newsom courses and Newsom pupils. Despite ethnographic research (Burgess, 1986) revealing that Newsom pupils carried a 'social stigma' and despite the Newsom expansion of vocational education into the school curriculum being checked by the then Wilson Government, the educational philosophy at this time and for several years afterwards can be seen as liberal in form. For example, it has been noted (Roberts, 1972) that the Careers Service had a 'Client orientated approach to young people'. Counselling and guidance of school leavers was seen as more important than assessing their psychological type and matching it to employers' needs. Not many years later the 'Great Debate' on education and the 'new vocationalism' that it sanctioned were to collide with these liberal principles.

The 'Great Debate' initiated by James Callaghan's Ruskin College speech in October 1976 put forward the view that schools were failing to meet the needs of industry. The debate was a response to the growing economic crises, escalating youth unemployment, cuts in educational expenditure and the anticipated fall in pupil numbers as a result of a declining birthrate. Thus, there was an effort to tighten the bond between school and the labour market through the introduction of vocational courses, which would remedy the mismatch between school and work. As the Prime Minister, James Callaghan pointed out, at the time, some schools:

> may have over-emphasised the importance of preparing boys and girls for their roles in society compared with the need to prepare them for their economic roles.
> (TES, 22 October 1976)

The influence of an array of societal ideologies (see chapter three) which were expressed in popular discourses by official personnel, suggested that these new vocational courses could turn a whole generation of young people into 'model workers', who could transcend narrow trade practices and be highly mobile. The return of a Conservative Government in 1979 saw, a much more radical shift away both from these liberal philosophies and the views of Callaghan's Labour Government. It is not being suggested here that liberal

educational philosophies, discourses, and practices have totally been rejected, rather, they have been absorbed and re-articulated within the context of the new vocationalism and its 'ideological packaging' (see chapter three).

Nevertheless, in agreement with Jordan (1985) it can be seen that before 1979 education was used by successive governments in an attempt to provide - in theory at least - a framework of equal opportunities. As Dale (1983) points out in the years that followed the Conservative election, (indeed throughout the decade and into the 1990s) education is being used to create an ever more competitive, self-interested and divided society.

In the 1980s a transformation of school curricula for 14-18 year olds, in the form of the 'Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative' (TVEI) and the 'Certificate in Pre-Vocational Education' (CPVE)[2] has occurred, thus re-establishing some of the principle aims of Newsom, primarily to bring schools closer to the world of industry. In this sense, certain criteria of Newsom's 'old vocationalism' are intertwined with the new vocationalism. The influence of societal ideologies (see chapter 3) is again apparent here, indeed Jamieson (1985) suggests that the TVEI proposals represent corporate hegemony. The rhetoric of TVEI as in the Government White Paper 'Working Together - Education and Training' (1986) is couched in the very words of Newsom: opportunities, choices, motivation, relevance, broader, achievement, challenging and stimulating. The White Paper (1986) announces the necessity to:

> Secure a change of attitude towards learning, and the achievement it makes possible, as well as an improvement in the standards of competence, so that more young people see the value of entering the labour market. (p5)

This official rhetoric is constantly being revised, updated or added to, so that today transferable skills, enterprising skills and self-employment skills are all well to the fore.[3] It can be seen then, that there has been an ideological shift towards the direct satisfaction of employers' demands for disciplined and work-ready school leavers.

The state can thus be seen to be unable to change the labour market process to fit existing school-leavers, thus it has to try to fit school leavers to the available labour process.[4] However, as Watts (1983) rightly observes, youth unemployment must be seen not as an 'educational problem', but it is a 'problem for education'. Youth unemployment is a problem for education because it severs the connection between the reward structures of the school and the labour market which led 'ordinary pupils' to see that there was a point in making an effort. Both Willis (1987) and Ainley (1988), amongst others, have noted that the traditional carrot expressed in the phrase: 'study-hard-for-good-exam-results-to-get-a-good-job', is no longer there.

Knowledge is the basis for gaining qualifications, which is the basis for obtaining a job. A job means money. With the money comes access to goods, status, accommodation. Getting a job means crossing the threshold between childhood and adulthood. Traditionally, in schools, teachers gave pupils knowledge and in return the pupils obtained jobs. The teachers benefit from this arrangement due to the pupils showing respect for their authority and control within the classroom. This 'fair exchange' has now broken down. In the 1980s the perspective has shifted, due mainly to mass youth unemployment, to the promise of gaining academic qualifications, to getting a job. However, for the middle class and mobile working class the issue is still education. This must be separated off from the menial jobs and vocational courses which are on offer for the bottom two thirds of low academic achievers. Academic attainment still matters because it leads to 'good qualifications', and these go together with good incomes, and with jobs themselves. If you were a young male in 1981 your chances of being unemployed were only 7 per cent if you had a university degree. If you obtained no qualifications in school, your chances were 27 per cent. (Employment Gazette, April 1983. Figures relate to ages 16-29).

What can be seen to have occurred and has been noted by a growing number of observers (White, 1982; Bates et al, 1984; Willis, 1987; Wallace, 1987; National Labour Movement, 1987; Brown, 1987) is that it has never been more true than now that it is 'education' for

the middle class and 'training' for the rest. New vocational courses (including YTS) are overwhelmingly working class.[5] What can be seen to have occurred is that different kinds of youth receive different kinds of curricula in different kinds of learning establishments, which are more directly related to the control of labour at a time of mass youth unemployment. The new vocationalism in schools, F.E. and training sectors has frozen the existing social division of labour between 'mental' and 'manual' classes.

As Brown (1987) points out:

> The new vocationalism is a doctrine for 'other people's children' because it leaves the academic education of the middle classes completely untouched. (p176)

Whilst Watts (1983) argues that vocational preparation programmes,

> ... tend to deprive their students of access to what in terms of status and income must be regarded as the real vocational prizes. (p14)

Still further Hall (1983) suggests that:

> the brutal revival of vocationalism in its most reductive form and the division of the world forever into 'hands' and 'brains', each with its appropriate slot in the educational structure, corresponds to a general vision of class domination. Inequality in education has become, once again, a positive social programme, and it flows from and underpins a vision of the future, sordid and degraded as it is.
> (in Wolfe, 1983 p3)

It follows from the above therefore that just as powerful groups have monopolised society's material wealth, they have also monopolised knowledge and what counts as knowledge. As Williams (1961) argued in the 'Long Revolution', the curriculum is always a 'cultural selection', a particular set of emphasis and omissions'. In the case of the new vocationalism, the emphasis is on a narrow employer led curriculum, and the omission is 'really useful knowledge'.

Really useful knowledge is a term which comes from a nineteenth century working class tradition of self-education. It consisted of theories and explanations of why most people were poor (in the midst of plenty), why and how contemporary society shaped character in the way it did - in aggressive, competitive and unco-operative ways.

Chartists taught people what social changes were necessary for real social change to occur. As Johnson (1983 p23) notes:

> ... we need more desperately than anything, a 1980s equivalent of 'really useful knowledge' which takes account of our modernity, both in its content and its form.

Thus, 'really useful knowledge' today would act as a kind counter hegemony and include technical and political education which does not divorce the personal from the political. Really useful knowledge would direct attention towards a young person's 'cultural history' and of the codes through which identities of 'gender', 'class', and 'ethnicity' are constructed. It would refuse the distinctions between practical and theoretical and provide an education which would offer constructive criticism of the world. It would provide a politics which would allow working class young people to see inequalities, and the monopoly of knowledge, which leads to a better quality of life (for some). It would include an exploration of ways in which social injustices and inequalities could be investigated, questioned and eventually transformed. It would break down the distinction between 'mental' and 'manual' workers belonging to different classes, where traditional practical skills are denigrated as 'non-intellectual' requiring training, not education. Really useful knowledge would equip young people with a range of resources for overcoming daily difficulties, giving them self-respect, self-confidence and teach them how to take control of their own destinies. At best really useful knowledge should equip young people with a new popular democratic national culture - a new 'common sense'[6] that would be free from ideologies which support the needs of production in a capitalist economy.

Whitty (1983) has noted that many of the principles of really useful knowledge were put into practice by some teachers in the 1960-70s, but the teachers involved offered no real political base outside the profession, which resulted in their jobs becoming increasingly marginalised. Thus, as Hall (1983) reminds us, neither the cultural subordination of the working class nor the division of labour can be overcome by reforms, however radical in education. The new vocationalism it is argued (Cohen, 1984) is not providing the

conditions for the emergence of genuinely popular and democratic forms of progressive youth politics. In this sense, how far could it be argued that young people today learn not so much about 'really useful knowledge', but rather, 'really useless knowledge'?

Inequalities then, are part and parcel of state schooling. Empirical research has concluded, time and time again, that despite internal and external changes in British schooling, class, race and gender inequalities have persisted. For example, traditional mobility studies, despite being male focussed (Halsey et al, 1980) have shown that the educational chances of young people are still dominated by their class of origin. Other research has shown the extent to which educational outcomes are determined by gender (Sharpe, 1976; Deem, 1978) and by race (Eggleston et al, 1985).

The point here is that these inequalities also exist within the new vocationalism. In agreement with Ainley (1988) if we want to fully understand this phenomenon then we must place it in an appropriate historical context. Thus, we must look at the failings of the comprehensive system of schooling which preceded the new vocationalism, and before that to the tripartite system to which comprehensives, in turn, were seen as a solution.

In the 1990s then, we must look at the failings of the new vocationalism and observe that when Bernstein (1977) argued that 'education cannot compensate for society', we need to add further, that the new vocationalism cannot compensate for the deficiencies and discriminatory practices in the labour market. Furthermore, vocational preparation can be seen to provide the social and cultural mechanisms through which the new vocationalism translates and recreates forms of economic and social privilege. The point is that the more that working class education is vocationalised, the deeper and earlier class and gender reproduction, with all its inequalities, will take root. This thesis will explain the previously underestimated role of ideologies in this process in regard to what could be said to be the most important new vocational area - the YTS.

The overt purpose of the YTS is direct instruction in skills relevant to work. This situation occurs, not in a dogmatic sense, for example, in practice, competing groups, such as, unions, employers, teachers and young people themselves, make varying demands upon the YTS curriculum. However, training for the workplace seems clearest here, yet, this thesis will show that the trainees are not always clear about what they are learning. It will be demonstrated that many of the trainees are not acquiring job skills, but are acquiring something just as central to the reproduction of the labour force. They are being initiated into patterns of social relationships and into associated habits and attitudes which are appropriate for the workplace.

Further, this thesis will explain how the concept of ideology plays an important role in this process (see Chapter Three) and will highlight the significance of the off-the-job training arena in providing a platform for this initiation. In this sense, the off-the-job training establishments are important holding mechanisms which allow the trainees to 'learn how to labour' in a segmented labour market. Thus, the trainees, as chapters seven and eight will show, are instrumental in their own cultural and social reproduction. The next section will outline the role of the Manpower Services Commission on the growth of the new vocationalism.

MSC - A Vehicle of Change

The fourth factor which has had an essential role in the growth of the new vocationalism has been successive governments use of the MSC to implement new forms of education and training both in and out of schools. The MSC has grown enormously since it was established by the 'Employment and Training Act' in 1973. At this time it was a small public agency, with a secretariat of 40, whose original aim was to plan jobs for the future in conjunction with the Industrial Training Boards.

However, by 1979 the numbers of staff had peaked at 26,162. Costs also mounted to over £2,000 million for 1984-85 (compared with the £13,000 million Exchequer grant to all UK universities for that year). £3 billion was forecast for the MSC's 1987-88 budget (Ainley,

1988 p82). As youth unemployment has risen the MSC has allocated more and more of its budget to youth training.[7] In 1979-80 only 17 per cent of the Commission's total spending went on training young people, whereas 46 per cent went on training adults. By 1988-89, 38 per cent of a much larger budget will be going on young people and 9 per cent on adults (New Society Data Base, 8 August 1986).

It must be remembered that the MSC are also involved in adult labour markets. In 1986 (New Society Data Base, 18 July) there were 80,722 men on MSC-sponsored training courses, with a further 86,353 aged over 25. There was 49,111 women also involved, with a further 43,480 aged under 25. Whilst people on access to information technology courses amounted to 28,000. A further 53,300 people were being trained by their employers with MSC grants.

The first of the MSC's temporary schemes to meet the crises of mass youth unemployment was the Job Creation Programme (JCP) which was started by a Labour Government in 1975. JCP provided 100,000 temporary jobs during 1975-77. Although JCP's were government funded, they were usually proposed and managed by voluntary agencies and local authorities, to perform work of value to the wider community. JCP's can be seen to be the direct ancestors of the YTS. Lindley (1980) has compiled a fine list of acronyms for all these emergency efforts of the Special Programmes Division:

> Temporary Employment Subsidy (TES) - Temporary Short-Time Working Compensation Scheme (TSTWCS) - Small Firms' Employment Subsidy (SFES) - Recruitment Subsidy for School Leavers (RSSL) - Youth Employment Subsidy (YES) - Adult Employment Subsidy (AES) - Job Creation Programme (JCP) - Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP) - Work Experience Programme (WEP) - Community Industry (CI) - TSA Course for Young People (TSAYP) - Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) - Training Places in Industry (TPI) - Job Induction Scheme for Disabled (JIS) - Job Release Scheme (JRS)
> (p345)

The Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) which was launched in 1978 was a much larger scheme than many of the 'special programmes' and expanded provisions for the young unemployed mainly by allowing private industry and mainstream public services to participate. YOP developed out of a growing concern to ensure that:

> all young people of 16 to 18 years of age who have no job or who are not engaged in further or higher education should have the opportunity of training, or participating in a job creation programme, or of work experience.
> (MSC, 1977 p3)

There were over 160,000 young people on YOP in 1979 and by 1981-82 the numbers had risen to half a million. In 1983 the MSC launched the Youth Training Scheme. This scheme was initially a one year scheme which developed into a two year scheme in April 1986 (A full discussion of YTS will be given in chapter four).

It needs to be stressed here, and as indicated earlier, that these training and educational measures were often seen in a somewhat sceptical fashion by many people. As Gregory and Noble (1982) note the trade union movement had a somewhat ambiguous view towards the implementation of YOP. Traditionally Trade Unions would welcome any long-term government training and apprenticeship scheme. Indeed, on the one hand the 'Holland Report', which recommended the establishment of YOP and STEP, was favoured by many Unions who gave it their 'seal of approval'. However, by the early 1980s several major unions were arguing that the practice of YOP constituted a major threat to their members and that union support for the programme should be withdrawn. Whilst training courses for adults were also criticised. The Job Training Scheme (JTS) which was an amalgamation of the Community Programme (CP) and the Job Training Scheme (JTS) and which was launched early in 1988, failed to win mass support from workers and many employers. Still further it has been reported (Dunn, 1988) that a survey conducted by the Merseyside Trade Union, Community and Unemployed Resource Centre found that nine out of ten of the unemployed in the area were prepared to boycott the Employment Training Scheme (ET) which began in September 1988 and offers training to 600,000 long term adult unemployed.

The MSC and Further Education

Despite these protests the MSC continued to be used as a vehicle of change which has had profound effects also, on the structure and organisation of further education. Further education was traditionally concerned with the education and training of employed youth, generally attending on a day-release basis. By the 1960s the composition of students involved in further education could be characterised as falling into one of two groups. Further education's traditional student was a craft apprentice, typically white and male. The second group comprised a growing number of students on business, technician and GCE courses. Further education catered for the minority of school leavers, most of whom left to go straight into unskilled or semi-skilled work without any further education or training.

What has developed in the 1980s is that the further education sector has grown into a tripartite structure aimed at attracting three very different groups of students with very different expectations of future employment. As Gleeson (1986) points out, this tripartite structure consists firstly, of students on craft apprentices, and on day-release courses. Secondly, students on business, technician and GCE courses and finally a 'dumping ground' for young people on the new vocation courses - YTS, TVEI and CPVE.

In 1984 the government issued a White Paper entitled 'Training for Jobs' which gave the MSC control of 25 per cent of local authority budget in the area of Work Related Non Advanced Further Education. The result of this means that:

> With Local Authorities submitting the development plans for MSC approval, democratic control of further education through LEAs has been replaced by the market philosophy of the non-accountable MSC. There is a real prospect of some colleges losing substantial areas of work if the MSC deem that necessary. No recourse to appeal will exist.
> (quoted in the National Labour Movement 1987, Section III p25)

Thus the MSC has been able to intervene in education and bring it under central control, thereby securing its greater subordination to the needs of industry. Therefore the Commission can be seen as the vehicle used by the present Tory Government to restructure the education and training of young people. It is fair to argue that the MSC has moved away from 'managing employment' in the early 1970s to 'managing unemployment' in the past decade (Benn and Fairley, 1986). It may be the case that British educationalists have maintained their customary detachment from industry and vocationalism and allowed the MSC to hijack further education and infiltrate the school sector (Green, 1983). Indeed, it may be that the long-term political strategy of the Commission is to restructure the production process (Markall and Gregory, 1982) or to develop a state run secondary labour market for young workers (Firth, 1980). What will be shown in this thesis is that although the YTS does act as a surrogate labour market that filters young people into a segmented labour market, it is not the result of a conspiracy by the establishment. Their social policy initiatives are not always coherent. Rather:

> Beneath the fine words in the glossy brochures, the delivery of YTS especially, has always been an unparalleled rush and shambles.
>
> ... From the chaotic organisation of the projects at local level, it is doubtful whether there is any 'long-term strategy' at all; rather it seems the desperate response to an uncontrolled and unforeseen situation.
> (quoted in Church and Ainley, 1987 p75)

Some Conclusions

There are five points that can be deduced from this chapter. First, if we want to understand the character and workings of the YTS, together with the experiences, behaviour patterns and ideologies of its participants then there is a need to place the scheme in the context of social and economic change. Second, that the growth of youth unemployment, segmented youth labour markets, a loss of faith in state schooling and the role of the MSC, all combine to form the social terrain from which the new vocationalism has emerged. Third, a terrain which sees traditional forms of education, training and jobs available for young people being restructured. Fourth, a terrain whereby young people follow a narrow employer-led training and educational curriculum, as opposed to a programme consisting of really useful knowledge. Fifthly, an array of ideological linguistic packaging has taken place that is manifested in social policy initiatives which gives this whole process an official seal of approval. The following chapter, will explain the theoretical research orientations towards just one aspect of this new vocationalism - The Youth Training Scheme.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH ORIENTATIONS: IDEOLOGY AS A THEORETICAL TOOL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCES AND PHILOSOPHIES OF YTS PARTICIPANTS

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the specific theoretical orientations of the research. This thesis will transcend existing knowledge on the YTS in several ways. It will be shown how the concept of ideology can be utilised by applying it to the YTS and its participants. Although Labour Market Segmentation theorists, (discussed in chapter two) have contributed to our understanding of the economical, social and political position of youth, they have not looked closely enough at their ideological position. Thus, they have neglected what people 'think' and 'feel' and how they construct, understand and give meaning to their realities.

Previous research on the YTS has not demonstrated how ideologies originate, become institutionalised are fused together in formal or generalised modes and are then manifested through the medium of social policy and everyday social discourses. Previous research has not shown how ideologies live through YTS participants influencing their consciousness, behaviour patterns, their day-to-day experiences and the eventual labour market positions - the life chances of YTS trainees. In other words the role that ideology performs in the preparation of young people for a class and gendered segmented labour market has been underestimated.

This thesis will remedy this situation and demonstrate how different ideologies work themselves through and intertwine between and within the following four categories. First, the establishment and their social policy initiatives, that is, government members and MSC/TC/TA officials. Second, the classroom encounters of YTS trainers and trainees during OJT. Third, cultural and social reproduction, processes and fourth, the segmentation of youth labour markets. The thesis will show that at one level there exist formalised ideologies on young people, their jobs, training and education. Theses ideologies are propagated by members of the establishment and

have become official ideologies through the medium of social policy initiatives. However, there also exist a multiplicity of what I have termed societal ideologies, which refer to the general belief systems that individuals hold on every aspect of society.

This thesis will use the concept of ideology as a tool which will allow for the appreciation of these different ideological strata and permit us to unravel the complexities associated with the lived realities personal troubles (Mills 1959), values, perspectives, and the general working conditions and future prospects of YTS participants. This thesis will link these four categories together and contribute to what Lee et al (1987) describe as a somewhat neglected area, that being the 'microsociology of inequality' (p142). Let us begin then, by a discussion of the concept of ideology.

The Concept of Ideology

The term 'ideology' is not without its problems. It has given rise to more analytical and conceptual difficulties than almost any other sociological category ((Abercrombie Hill and Turner (1980)). McLellen (1986) also reminds us that 'ideology' is the most elusive concept in the social sciences, whilst Whitey (1978) suggests that it has a 'multiplicity of definitions and usages' (p 209). Other sociologists have ascribed different degrees of emphasis in regard to the conceptual, historical and cultural significance of the term (see for example, Larrain, 1979, 1983 Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1978, Thompson 1986).

While in general the concept of ideology tends to refer to a coherent set of assumptions, perceptions, attitudes and beliefs mediated through a great many social agencies, which collectively come to define the common sense world for individuals, for Marx and his followers it means something more. Ideology in the most traditional or orthodox Marxist sense has been primarily concerned with the relations of struggle and resistance. As Giroux (1984) reminds us one consequence of this has been a host of interpretations that define ideology in largely pejorative terms. As 'false conscious', Marx (1977) as non scientific beliefs, Althusser (1969), or as a set of

beliefs that function so as to legitimize domination, Habermas (1975):

> 'In these interpretations, ideology has operated at such a high level of abstraction that it provides few clues as to how subjectivities are constituted ... by denying the complex and contradictory nature of human consciousness and behaviour, these accounts suppress the possibilities of mediation and resistance' (p 310).

In order to explain my own use of the concept and how it can be used as an analytical tool, I make no apologies for summarizing many of the arguments that Giroux puts forward.

Let us begin with Lenin (1971) who viewed ideology as a positive force which could provide the working class with the attitudes and skills necessary for self-determination. Gouldner (1976) also attempted to rescue ideology from its pejorative status by suggesting that all ideologies contain the possibility for developing a critical view of the world. Whilst Althusser (1969, 1971) and Volosinov (1973) argue that ideology has material roots in practices produced in Ideological State Apparatuses such as schools, or in language, representations and 'signs'. On the other hand, the subjective and psychological character of ideology can be found in the work of Marcuse (1964) or in the work of culturalists such as Williams (1977) and Thompson (1966). These perspectives emphasize the point that ideology is situated within the psychic structure of the oppressed or it is an active force constituted through shared experiences and common interests.

Other perspectives (Lukacs 1968) point to the social character of repressive ideology and the concept of reification, in which concrete relations between human beings are made to appear as objectified relations between things. Whilst Adorno's (1967, 1968) and Marcuse's (1955) notion of ideology as reification implies a mode of unconsciousness in which '... the historically contingent nature of social relations under capitalism has been 'forgotten' and takes on the appearance of mythic permanence and unchanging reality' (p 317). Thus ideology for them can be seen as not only shaping consciousness but also it is a part of the psyche which reinforces itself through the patterns and routines of everyday life. However, Giroux (1984)

informs us that to '... reduce ideology exclusively to the realm of unconsciousness is to leave human agents without the benefit of critical or any other consciousness' (p 320). Thus it is important to realise that human agents do have a common sense consciousness which affects their day-to-day activities.

The work of Gramsci (1971) does provide us with many insights into the location and effects of ideology in the sphere of common sense which he terms 'contradictory consciousness'. Consciousness in the Gramscian sense cannot be equated with domination as it is a complex combination of good and bad sense. Common sense consists of a type of subjectivity which is characterized by forms of discursive consciousness that allow individuals to obtain insights into social reality, together with distorting beliefs that serve to mystify and legitimate that reality. Furthermore, common sense affects and manifests itself in nondiscursive behaviour and is characterized by the same elements of accommodation and resistance. However:

> '... both discursive and nondiscursive common sense function without the benefit of critical interrogation. It is the grounding of common sense in an uncritical mode of mediation, a mode of mediation which is unconscious of its relation to the larger social totality, that is its singular characteristic' (Giroux 1984, p 321).

In the Gramscian sense then, ideology and common sense must be distinguished from views of ideology that exist solely in the unconscious or from notions of false consciousness. Giddens' (1976) has utilised these elements of Gramscian thought in his use of the concept of ideology. He distinguishes the unconscious from two modes of consciousness: practical consciousness and discursive consciousness. Practical consciousness is defined in terms of tacit stocks of knowledge which actors draw upon in the construction of social reality. Whereas discursive consciousness involved knowledge which actors are able to express on the level of discourse. This thesis will apply these categories to the YTS staff and their trainees. (see Chapter Six).

Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' can also be utilised in order to help our understanding of the relationship between the ideas, actions and interests of YTS participants and how they are manifested, shaped and directed within the off-the-job training arena and the YTS in general. The term hegemony refers to the domination of one class over another, not by force, or by economic means, but by moral and cultural domination. Thus, the power of the ruling class in the West rests mainly, not on physical control through the military-police apparatus, but on its ideological domination exercised through a network of voluntary institutions that pervade everyday life, such as, political parties, the trade unions, the churches, the mass media and education. Thus, for Gramsci, the status quo is maintained and reproduced not only by the repressive state apparatus, but also, by a vast array of subtle ideological mechanisms. Power, therefore, is founded upon producing consent and acquiescence among the ruled class.

This thesis will demonstrate how the off-the-job training arena produces the means whereby many trainees consent to and endorse their own subordinate position, not by acquiescence to the ruling ideas expressed in policy initiatives towards YTS, but, by acquiescence to societal ideologies of the wider society (see chapters, four, seven and eight). Gramscian thought allows us to see that the off-the-job training arena is a holding operation which helps to reproduce the social division of labour, the segmentation of youth labour markets, the sexual division of labour, the dominant culture and the political order.

There are a further four points on how the concept of ideology will be used in this thesis. First, in agreement with Marcuse (1955), Bourdieu (1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Giddens (1979), ideologies, as a set of meanings and ideas, can either be coherent or contradictory, thus they can function within the spheres of both consciousness and unconsciousness. Furthermore, ideologies can exist at the level of critical discourse as well as within the sphere of taken-for-granted lived experience and practical behaviour.

Second, ideology is concretised in various 'texts', material practices and material form. Thus, the form of ideology is mental, but its effects can be both psychological and behavioural. Therefore, they are not only felt in human action but are also inscribed in material culture.

> '.. a theory of ideology must be capable of comprehending the way in which meaning is within cultural forms such as films, books, curriculum packages, fashion styles and so on. Thus, ideology critique is not limited to the hidden or visible processes in the realm of subjectivity and behaviour but is extended to the 'study of observable material processes - the manipulation of signs in specific ways and specific contexts'
> (Bennett, 1981 p. 28 quoted in Giroux 1984, P.325)

This aspect of ideology can be seen in the formalised 'ideological packaging' of the YTS curriculum and the new vocationalism in general and the social policy initiatives associated with young people, their jobs, training and education. (see Chapter Four).

Third, the function of ideology in the cultural and social reproduction of society (see below for a discussion of these terms) is not located in the sphere of consciousness, as in the traditional Marxist sense or in the realm of the unconsciousness, as the Althusserian school of thought would argue, rather, in agreement with Gramsci (1971) and Giroux (1984) I want to argue that the:

> 'interface of ideology and individual experience can be located within three specific areas: the sphere of the unconscious and the structure of needs, the realm of common sense; and the sphere of critical consciousness' (Giroux 1984, p. 315)

YTS participants, for example, bring different histories with them to the off-the-job-training centres. Therefore, they bring with them class, gender and race specific interests. These interests can shape their needs and behaviour often in ways that they do not understand and often in ways that go against their own interests. In other words YTS participants actually produce meaning via their historical, positional, family gendered and class backgrounds. Therefore, if we want to know how ideology functions in the cultural and social reproduction process, we need to see how ideology works

through individuals to secure their consent to the dominant conceptions of the social order. By penetrating these ideologies and cultural forms it becomes possible to unravel the mediators that give meaning to YTS experience and to understand how they might function in the interest of accommodation resistance or active change. From this perspective, ideology exists not only on the level of speech and language, but also as lived experience, as practical conduct in everyday life.

The fourth point which highlights how I intend to use the concept of ideology in this research is to use the term also in a more neutral sense which reflects some of the elements of Marx's (1977) 'The German Ideology'. This second use of the concept by Marx is also used by Meighan (1981) and is close to a more sociological use of the term. Thus, ideology should also be used as:

> 'a broad but interlinked set of ideas and beliefs about the world held by a group of people and which those people demonstrate both in behaviour and conversation to various audiences' (p.19)

In this sense, it can be seen that earlier epochs have their own societal ideologies which differ in character from those of the present epoch. Societal ideologies also vary between nations and between societies. Each cultural and economic condition produces its own distinct array of societal ideologies which in turn leads to specific values and perspectives emerging. It follows that every individual is born into an array of ready made social structures and societal ideologies. Therefore, societal ideologies are institutionalized, - they are a part of the cultural roots of society. Consequently, individuals are born into an existing and ever-changing culture, thus they encounter environmental stimuli - with all its rules, regulations norms, values, accepted discourses and behaviour patterns - as natural, normal and desirable. The majority of individuals regard their environment in a 'common sense', taken-for-granted, thats-the-way-it-is kind of fashion. Most people learn to obey and conform to a multitude of explanations on social life. Therefore, there are many levels of societal ideologies which intertwine within and between each other and which influence the values, perspectives, social discourses and behaviour patterns of YTS participants. Thus,

societal ideologies do not float around, and are not necessarily consistent, but they do have historical roots and are generalised in day-to-day-reality.

Societal ideologies at the macro level, for example, contain popular cultural beliefs associated with society at large. These consist of elements of concepts known as 'lived ideologies' and 'intellectual ideologies. Lived ideology should be seen as a society's way of life. This type of ideology reflects Gramsci's (1971) use of the concept, discussed earlier, thus it includes what criteria pass for common sense within a society. Therefore it contains notions on the scientific rationalisation of society, together with prejudices, folklore and superstition from previous phases of history.

At this macro level then, there exist societal ideologies on class, gender and race, on international, national and local politics, on patriotism, Western democracy, political participation. While on a more intermediate level there exist ideologies on the work ethic, trade unions, occupational and general work practices, on the family-marriage, sex, motherhood, romance, gender specific roles etc.

The notion of a 'lived ideology' is very different from the view of ideology as an intellectual ideology. Ideology here, is not about the everyday thinking of a particular group, but as a formalized ideology which may then become an official ideology through the medium of state policy. For example, this ideology is not presented by casual beliefs and informal values, but rather, it will be expressed by the great theorists of liberal philosophy such as Locke and Adam Smith, who attempt to construct the ideology of liberalism into a systematic philosophy. The distinction between the 'lived and 'intellectual' ideology is the difference between a non-formalised and a formalised consciousness. It is this formalised ideology, as stated earlier, that the Government and the MSC/TC/TA express through the medium of their official social policy initiatives towards young people, their jobs, training and education. In general, this formalised ideology supports the needs of production of a capitalist economy.

Billig et al (1988) reminds us of a fine example of the distinction between 'lived and intellectual ideology' by focussing on Lenin's famous essay 'What is to be Done'. Lenin called upon middle class intellectuals to develop the ideology of Marxism. He claimed that the working class would be unequal to the task. Workers only possessed a 'trade union consciousness' and, as a result, they lacked the philosophical insight. In other words, the working class could not transcend its lived ideology to produce the intellectual ideology, which would eventually transform the lived ideology.

It is not the intention here to try to establish whether or not YTS staff and their trainees show any signs of transcending this 'lived ideology', thus developing the potential for a 'revolutionary consciousness'. Following this direction would be misguided and somewhat naive. Nor is it the intention here, to engage in what Lodziak (1988) describes as 'that self-righteous exercise of ideology detection'. It is rather, 'for reasons of finding out the kinds of motivations people have, and what the basis of these motivations are'. (p.13)

However, generally, it will be seen that an array of societal ideologies can be used to describe the perceptions of YTS trainers and their trainees (indeed, all individuals associated with the scheme). For example, not only do YTS participants use commonsense constructs to describe their reality, but, powerful groups of individuals from the political, business and industrial sectors are tapping the liberal theories of Adam Smith. Thus the emergence of the new vocationalism is often seen as the result of 'market forces' or as a natural phenomenon. Yet, this liberal theory in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s has developed into a more narrowly interpreted 'new right' ideology, which has shifted the moral ground associated with young people, their jobs, education and training. Thus, although state intervention has taken place, it is morally sanctioned with elements of laissez-faire ideologies.

The philosophies of the 'new right' then, as stated earlier, appear in concrete form in the social policy initiatives and 'linguistic packaging' associated with the new vocationalism and the culture of

enterprise. (see Chapter Four). The point here is that the values and perspectives of YTS trainers and trainees are influenced also by this 'new right' ideology. Therefore, in this sense right wing philosophies and discourses can become common sense philosophies and discourses and common sense philosophies and discourses can be right wing discourses.

YTS participants are also influenced by many other societal ideologies, for example, ideologies exist on state schooling which envisage education as preparing pupils for particular roles, such as, individuals who rule or who are ruled, whether as a result of ascribed status, by limited patronage and sponsorship or as a result of rigid inequality within society.

Some ideologies see school as a state of fluid inequality with mobility for some based on merit or some other principle of selection, whilst other ideologies stress versions of equality or they may see a pluralistic society, with conflicts of interests resolved in social democracy. Another alternative is an individualistic society with a high dispersal of, or access to, political power. Societal ideologies on schooling - indeed, towards every area of society - may be aristocratic, elitist, egalitarian, democratic and romantic.

Whatever the social formation societal ideologies operate at many levels. The philosophies surrounding the 'Great Debate', the new vocationalism and the vocation educational policies of the MSC/TC/TA, for example, can be seen to be operating at national level. Whilst, regionally, Local Education Authority and YTS managing agents are at another level. Locally, a particular Youth Training Scheme forms a further array of societal ideologies whilst internally, ideologies exist between rival groups within a scheme.

Within each micro level of YTS, for example, an array of interrelated societal ideologies exist. Trainers and trainees have ideologies in regard to YTS knowledge, its content, structure and the learning criteria laid down by the MSC/TC/TA, whilst YTS participants hold ideologies of learning in regard to their own roles within this process. Thus, should learning be a collective or

individual activity? Should it be competitive with other trainees or against a criteria of achievement, or co-operative? Should learning be by theory or practice, with or without the trainers help or should it be trainee centred? Both trainers and trainees hold ideologies in regard to each other. Do trainers, for example, have teaching styles that are progressive, authoritarian, coercive or negotiative? Do trainees see their trainers as teachers, youth workers, friends, counsellors etc?

YTS participants hold further ideologies on the organisation of learning situations. Different off-the-job training centres (see Chapters Six, Seven & Eight) for example, will affect the perspectives of those individuals who train and those who are trained. There are ideologies on the grouping of trainees, and how they are organised, for example, on the basis of 'gender', 'occupational group', 'academic achievement', 'social background' or a combination of some or all of these elements. Ideologies on the assessment that learning has taken place also exist. For instance, views on who or what is best able to assess, such as 'City and Guilds', the trainers or trainees themselves. Ideologies differ as to what should be assessed, for example, 'competence skills', 'growing up', 'maturity', practical written, or psychological tests. There are ideologies on whether or not the trainees will adopt to set criteria and what form assessment may take, such as personal profiles, or trainer observation of trainees.

By using the concept of ideology as an analytical tool in this sense it is a move away from some sociologists who tend to overstress the notion that individuals blindly accept dominant ideologies, then act upon them and in turn pass them on to the next generation. Elements of Milliband's (1969) work where he uses ideology as 'massive indoctrinisation', and Althusser's (1971) 'ideological state apparatuses' are guilty of such misconceptions. Therefore, the individual living with the array of societal ideologies must not be seen merely as a follower of rules, or as a well programmed machine. Neither, as Cohen (1984) reminds us must the function of ideology be reduced to one of:

> 'mystification, deduced either from the political role of the MSC, or the economic policies of Thatcherism. In these terms YOPS and YTS is part of a wider strategy of crisis management which aims at restructuring capital at the expense of labour ... The difficulty with this 'left functionalist' reading is not only that it tends to topple over into a kind of meta-conspiracy theory ... but that in doing so it ignores the specific effectivity of ideological forms of training, and their relation to issues of educational practice'. (P.162)

Individuals, then, are not 'cultural dopes', for example, the contrary themes of equality and authority are identified in the thinking of YTS trainers and their trainees. Thinking is frequently a form of dialogue within the individual. Yet the content of the dialogue has historical and ideological roots, for the concepts involved and their meanings are constructed through the history of social dialogue and debate. In this sense, the social pattern of ideology is mapped on to the individual consciousness and this consciousness is related to the array of societal ideologies discussed above. It also follows from the above that societal ideologies associated with the social terrain, are institutionalised, thus they influence the values, options and general perspectives of YTS participants. This in turn may lead to rather cliched, stereotypical myths, stigmas and general prejudiced or biaised ideas and opinions in regard to the reasons behind the emergence of this social terrain and how this phenomenon affects the jobs, training and education - the life chances - of young people.

What is being suggested here is that both YTS staff and trainees do 'think', but within the constraints of particular societal ideologies and/or within and between the multitude of ideological levels that have been discussed. Some of these societal ideologies are indeed sedimented in rhetoric and popular discourses which are expounded by the MSC/TC/TA, members of Governments and individuals of the 'New Right'. However, it does not result in the total concealment of presentation of thought in everyday life. Many YTS participants may be critical of the scheme, they may have a vague awareness of the tenuous connection between the personal and the political or more

specifically, between their own position on the YTS and how this relates to wider political structures.

Furthermore, the thinking of individuals is frequently characterised by the presence of opposing societal ideologies. These are not oppositions which might be associated with a careless lack of thought. It is rather, that they are opposing ideologies which enable individuals to find the familiar puzzling and therefore worthy of thought. Individuals do find the familiar puzzling and talk about the contradictory themes in ordinary life. In other words:

> 'In everyday thought the individual is a lay philosopher,not a marionette dancing to the desires of a great design' (Billig, 1988 P. 163)

What this section has demonstrated is that the concept of ideology should not be used in an attempt to explain 'false consciousness', or be reduced to the realm of the 'unconsciousness'. Neither, should it be used, solely as a set of dominant beliefs which restricts the desire for radical change amongst the working class. Rather, this thesis, so far, has shown that the concept of ideology needs to be used as a theoretical and analytical tool both in the spheres of consciousness and unconsciousness and at the levels of critical discourse and common sense.

It is not the intention here to examine in detail the array of ideologies that have been discussed so far. However, the research data allows us to focus on four main ideologies. First, the needs of production ideology (NOP) which, in general, is part of the Government's and the MSC/TC/TA's formalised ideology which is officially represented in their social policy initiatives towards young people, their jobs, training and education. Second, the holistic ideology which does not necessarily support the establishment. Third, societal ideologies associated with gender specific roles and forth societal ideologies that highlight inter-class divisions. [see Chapter, Four, Six, Seven and Eight]. As stated earlier, all these ideologies intertwine within and between each other and all can be used - to varying degrees - to subvert or support the official ideology embodied in the YTS curriculum.

This thesis has already indicated, and will demonstrate further in Chapter Four, that ideologies are not only in the field of human action, but are inscribed in material culture, that is, in social policy initiatives, curriculum packages, documents, films, books etc. This goes some way in rectifying the flaws of classical ideological theorists, as they did not pay enough attention to how ideologies can become formalised in state policies which then become offical and institutionalised.

It has also been suggested in this thesis that ideology does not just exist at the level of speech, but as a lived experience in everyday life. By using ideology in this sense the thesis will argue further, that ideologies must be seen as being manifested though the medium of the trainees' and trainers' historical, positional, family, gendered and class backgrounds. The thesis has shown, that we need to conceptualise ideologies as a broad and interlinked set of philosophies and beliefs which YTS participants hold about the world. This will be demonstrated further in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight in order to allow us to find out the kinds of motivations people have and the basis of these motivations.

Teacher and Trainer Ideologies

The previous section showed how the concept of ideology can be used as a theoretical tool in analysing the lived experiences, personal troubles and perspectives of YTS participants. In order to indicate further research orientations an account needs to be given of existing relevant research on school teachers and YTS trainers and pupils and trainees. Let us begin with research on teachers and trainers.

There have been a great many studies on teacher perspectives Grace (1978), for example, who focussed on teachers in urban schools in the nineteenth century, suggests that two ideologies were prominent. Teachers had either a 'missionary ideology' which sought socially and culturally to control the masses during the rapid expansion of industrialisation. Or they may have possessed a 'professional ideology', where their concern was one of respectability

and advancement. At times both these ideologies conflicted or complemented each other.

Studies by Ginsburg, et al (1980) although also locating two ideologies - professional and trade union - did identify a large range of views even amongst homogenous groups of middle school teachers. Several studies have investigated teacher sub-cultures, (Woods, 1983 and Hargreaves 1980) whilst others have suggested that teacher ideologies of their pupils are generated in the staffroom. Hammersely (1981), for example, argues that staffroom ideology results in a consensus amongst teachers of a mutual dependence in maintaining staff authority, which forces '... the adoption of certain common ways of treating pupils'. (p.8)

Ideologies on school organisation and subject level have also been emphasised. Ball (1981), for example, shows at 'Beachside Comprehensive' that teacher philosophies do influence school policy in maintaining particular curricula organisation of certain subjects, whilst Riseborough's (1981) study highlights the ideologies amongst new young school teaching staff members, as having more prominence than those of older established members of staff. A further study by Chessum (1980) suggests that school teachers often resort to personal and pathological theories as ways of explaining reasons behind deviant pupils. Chessum reminds us that this is because there;

> ' ... is plenty of psychological and sociological literature to support the view that certain kinds of home-based factors, such as family relationship abnormalities or particular styles of child-rearing are associated with emotional difficulties and intellectual handicaps among children' (p.123)

However, Cole (1984) argues that if we want to obtain teachers' 'true consciousness' then this can be better achieved by interviewing them away from an educational environment, such as in their own homes. This will then lead to a move away from ideological generalisations and a move towards different models of teacher consciousness. In regard to this thesis, although my YTS trainers are influenced by an array of different intertwining societal ideologies, in agreement with Cole (1984) if we want to understand their subjectivities then there is a need to generate different models

of trainer consciousness (see Chapter Six). Indeed, Williamson's (1982) study of trainers on the 'Youth Opportunities Programme' (YOP), which preceded the YTS highlights two general models of trainer perspectives. The first model includes those individuals who can be described as having backgrounds of a professional, managerial or supervisory nature, such as graduates, teachers and social workers. They regarded the main purpose of YOP as providing the trainees with educational and social skills, thus reducing the importance of learning specific work based tasks. This second model consists of trainers from industrial working backgrounds who do not over emphasise the educational and social aspects of YOP, preferring instead to concentrate on offering training in specific forms of work.

Other models of the ideologies of trainers on new vocational courses have been generated by Rosie (1988). He identifies two YTS trainer perspectives. The first he terms the 'YTS Model' whereby tutors have a particular philosophy which reflects features from a reworking of policy approaches to be found in official MSC documents. The option tutors - who only saw their trainees during the off-the-job college period - tended to subscribe, with different degrees of support towards the 'YTS Model'. The second philosophy Rosie terms the 'Integrated Model' which relies less on the official policy of the scheme and more upon the general principles of transition for young people across settings such as work experience, college training, home and family lives. Tutors that identified with this perspective were involved with their trainees both during the work experience placements and the off-the-job training and educational elements of the scheme. Further studies focus on the specific character of the OJT curriculum resulting in a conflict of roles for YTS staff (Edwards 1984), on the effects of the scheme on the values and social perceptions of both the trainees (Grub Institute, 1985, TURC, 1986, Lee et al 1987) and trainers/tutors (Jordan 1985).

This thesis will expand on this existing literature on tutor and trainer ideologies and will therefore provide us with a more comprehensive picture of their lived experiences, personal troubles

and general philosophies (see especially Chapter Six and also, Chapters Seven and Eight).

A great many case studies have also highlighted the important status division in school from the pupil perspective, that is, pro-school pupils and anti-school pupils. Educational studies within secondary schooling in the 1950s (Oppenheim 1955) the 1960s (Lacey 1966, Hargreaves, 1967), the 1970s (Willis, 1977, Woods 1979) and the 1980s (Ball, 1981; Turner, 1983) trace the major relations of pupil polarization which are substantially determined by the school's structural hierarchial organisation of pupils into able and less able pupils. The next section will focus on the most important themes generated by these studies with particular attention being given to the array of variables in the cultural and social reproduction process and the lived experiences of young people.

Cultural and Social Reproduction: The Lived Experiences of Working Class Youth

The term 'cultural and social reproduction', like that of ideology is a very vague and ambiguous concept. In general, the term is used to mean how each generation of children become the next generation of workers and citizens. Or more specifically:

> ' ... the manner in which cultural forms and social practices are continuous with, generate or tend to legitimate the relations of domination in capitalist society ... the process through which the working class may be said to learn, accept, support and at times resist its own role and position in a fundamentally unequal society'
>
> (Jenkins, 1983, p.2)

In agreement with Pahl (1984) the reproduction of labour may be seen as cultural reproduction and the reproduction of the complete social formation as social reproduction. It will be seen in this thesis that the YTS is an important arena in which the different goals and criteria for organising work are clarified. Thus, being a young person on the scheme requires a set of social relations that themselves have to be reproduced - the reproduction of segmented labour markets through the medium of the occupational groups (see

Chapters Seven and Eight). These cultural reproduction activities form just one crucial category in the reproduction of capitalist society - social reproduction.

A great many education case studies from both the macro and micro positions sought to identify divisions within secondary school as totally necessary to the nature of capitalist society. The macro understanding, for example, related to those ideological processes of cultural and social reproduction of the division of labour (Althusser 1971; Bowles and Gintis 1976). On the other hand, Willis (1977) and Corrigan (1979) have focussed on class cultural forms at the micro level, such as anti-school pupil groups. In Learning to Labour, Willis (1977) is concerned with working class experience. Unlike Hargreaves (1967) who had previously argued that the existence of a counter-culture within secondary modern schools was a consequence of the educational failure of working-class pupils, Willis suggested that, on the contrary, the development of a counter school culture is a cause not a consequence of educational failure. Willis demonstrated how cultural meanings were produced and reproduced in small informal groups. Thus working class pupils draw on their own class culture and see through the ideology of the school. They see their position in the school in terms, not of what the school might offer, but in terms of what success within it might mean for being a working class adult. The paradoxical result is that it is not the school which allocates working class kids to working class jobs, but the pupils themselves, as to accept success at school would mean rejecting their class.

Corrigan (1979) conducted a similar study to that of Willis. Corrigan interprets school in terms of a hidden political battleground where working class culture is attacked every day by an alien, that is, middle class cultural imposition. Like Willis, Corrigan's working class pupils had a counter-school culture which resisted the middle class curriculum. It is as a result of this situation that cultural and social reproduction takes place. Similar ethnographic research was also conducted by Jenkins (1983) who looked at youth in Northern Ireland. Jenkins sought to establish the patterned differences, both cultural and material, within the working class and how such

distinctions were reproduced especially in the transition from youth to adult and school to work. Jenkins rejects the notion that working class pupils colude in their own oppression (Willis, 1977) arguing instead that they resort to their own cultural alternatives as a defence.

He identified three distinct life-styles: the 'lads' who are more likely to come from a single-parent household, have a criminal record, possess no educational qualifications and enter unskilled work; 'the ordinary kids' who do better at school, are less likely to be unemployed or in unskilled work; and the 'citizens' who enter skilled manual or white-collar occupations. Jenkins suggests that there are three dimensions to the reproduction of these life-styles: the practices of the youth themselves, influenced partly by the attitudes of their parents and friends; the practices of significant others, such as housing officials, the police, teachers and employment recruiters, whose definitions of the world ensure the reproduction of the divisions, and thirdly, the institutional context within which the other two sets of practices are located. Thus, difference in life-styles are seen to stem from the differential allocation of resources within the working class.

Brown (1987) has identified three similar groups to those in Jenkins study. His 'rems', 'ordinary kids' and 'swots' each has a distinctive orientation which cannot be explained either by reference to selection processes within the school (Hargreaves, 1967) or by reference to a unitary working class culture (Willis 1977). Brown focuses on the 'ordinary kids' that have been neglected in previous studies. He argues that such pupils do make a limited effort at school and do have an instrumental orientation towards school. What Jenkins' (1983) and Brown (1987) show is that there are significant cultural variations within the working class which need to be included on the sociological agenda when analysing the cultural and social reproduction process. These studies go against the mainly two class model that Willis worked with. Indeed, still on this theme, Wallace, (1987) argues that we need to reconsider contemporary models of cultural and social reproduction by highlighting the importance of neglected variables such as young people's experiences and

relationships with their parents, partners and peers during the transitions from school to schemes to jobs.

Further criticisms of the Willis school of investigation conducted during the 1970s which were primarily concerned with white male working class youth during their transition from school to work, can be seen from the work of McRobbie (1978), Deem (1978) and Griffin (1985) who try to rectify this situation by focussing on young working class women. McRobbie, for example, has shown how their reaction to school involves a different anti-school subculture which stresses having a good time, rather than achievement; how they resist a meaningless curriculum by talking back to teachers and among themselves and how this resistance sometimes takes the form of assertive impertinence.

It is important therefore, in agreement with Riseborough (1989), to move away from 'conformist-blindness' studies. Even Willis, took 'the lads' stereotypical perspective as the norm and left 'the ear oles' marginal to his analysis. Riseborough's study of a group of BTEC catering and hotel students, for example, shows that even in a segmented labour market, where many working class young people only obtain jobs if they are lucky, some do still manage to get worthwhile jobs, they do learn to 'get-on' be 'deferential' and 'respectable'. These aspects, argues Riseborough, are as much part of working class culture as 'getting by' and being 'subversive'. This thesis seeks to add to these studies by identifying many of the class fractions and subtle ideological mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction that occur even within just one section of the working class - YTS trainees. Furthermore, this thesis seeks to relate these micro issues to macro societal structures. A need to follow this direction has been identified by other researchers as the next section will outline.

The Macro/Micro Debate

It has been noted by Hargreaves (1985) and Ozga (1988) that a gap exists in many educational studies between macro theories of the state and the world of pupil-teacher consciousness, with little ideological connection made except by assertion between them. In the case of the new vocationalism this phenomenon also exists. Attempts at rectifying this situation have been attempted by Edwards (1984), Lee et al (1987) and the contributors to 'Education, Training and the New Vocationalism' (Pollard, Purvis and Walford eds. 1988). Research papers in the latter for example, argue that '... there may well be conflicts between the official rhetoric at the macro level and the reality at the grassroots'. (Pollard, et al p.13). Thus they focus on the micro internal organisations of educational and training institutions and the perspectives of the participants on new vocational courses, in the hope of obtaining a firmer grasp of the realities of those who are at the receiving end of the new vocational state policies.

Hustler's (1988) paper for instance, which focuses on the views of a group of young people who took part in Manchester's LEA's 'Lower Attaining Pupil Programme' (LAPP) found, through interviewing the participants, that due to the vocational nature of the course they viewed the LAPP project as 'school', yet 'not school'. Shilling's (1988) research looked at a particular 'Factories and Industry' course for young people making the transition from school to work. He found that the participants are not passive agents but interpreters of the course. He shows that one of the unintended consequences for the group was that by the end of the course the majority said that they were less likely to work in any large factory than they had been before.

Other contributors concentrate on the different perceptions of boys and girls in regard to occupational structures, (Holland, 1988), whilst Mac an Ghaill's (1988) study of sixth formers on a CPVE course suggest that the programme had little to do with its overt purpose of skill acquisition, but is more concerned with the ideological preparation of students for the workplace or unemployment. Still

further the study by Rosie (1988) of 24 YTS trainees on the off-the-job training shows that a process of differentiation and polarisation took place during the course and raises questions about the relationship between success on the course and success in finding a job. He identifies three groups; 'outsiders', 'insiders' and 'independence seekers'. The characteristics of the trainees belonging to the 'outsiders' consisted of individuals from deprived social backgrounds, who tended to be involved in deviant acts such as petty crime and prostitution, were much more likely than other groups to be fatalistic and anti towards the official policy of YTS and also had a greater chance of being neglected by YTS personnel.

'Insiders' were much more in touch with workplace practices, had greater degrees of family support and security than 'outsiders', they tended to see the value of off-the-job training and were regarded by YTS staff as trainees who most deserved to succeed. 'Independence seekers' tended to have even greater levels of family security than other groups, were more likely to excel in certain courses, were willing to experiment with different activities during their time on YTS and were much more sure about their capabilities and optimistic about their futures. Buswell's (1988) paper also examines the experiences of a large group of YTS trainees on retail and clerical courses. She argues that there exists a conflict between the assumptions embedded in the schemes and the realities of the labour market which these trainees will enter.

Lee et al (1987) along with the above studies also seeks to tap the lived experiences of participants on new vocational courses. They argue, on the basis of interviewing 200 YTS trainees, that even if they were dissatisfied with aspects of the scheme, it provided them with a 'psychic refuge' '... a moral rescue from unemployment and YTS refusers' (P.152). Their study also criticises previous research for placing too much emphasis on variations between so called 'strata' in life chances and social perceptions, to the neglect of variations within them. This thesis will rectify this situation. Therefore, following the work of Jenkins (1983) and Brown (1987) above, where they show that the lived experiences of young people are influenced by many cultural variations, it will be seen that there exists an array

of class fractions even within just one segment of the working class, thus resulting in even further cultural variations taking place within these class fractions.

This thesis then, will expand on my previous work (see Parsons, 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990) and will demonstrate what Lee et al (1987) sees as insufficient work in general on the:

> ' ... microsociology of inequality. In particular it would seem to be profitable to know far more about the minutiae of in-market events through which the class situation of the majority of individuals seeking employment are determined' (P.142)

There is therefore, a need to make concrete links between societal ideologies, the lived experiences and perspectives of YTS participants and cultural and social reproduction. Thus, we need to tap the lived realities of these people involved in the implementation and reception of national policy decisions at local level. We need to capture the relationships between the personal troubles of YTS trainees and their trainers and contemporary changes in regard to the YTS and society. We need to locate, analyse and explain the common sense constructs that YTS participants use in order to ascertain whether they are ideologically incorporated or institutionally incorporated into this social terrain. We need to establish whether YTS trainers follow rigidly, everything that the MSC/TC/TA say training and education should be. Is good practice, for example, only achieved because the YTS staff are willing to risk their jobs by ignoring the MSC/TC/TA's restrictive objectives? We need to find out whether or not YTS participants have developed their own autonomy within the official curriculum of the scheme and whether or not their perspectives align themselves with this curriculum.

Following Chapter Five, which explains the methodological processes involved in collecting my research data, Chapter Six, Seven and Eight will expand on the above issues in more detail. Firstly, though, Chapter Four, will provide a full account of the formal curriculum of YTS and the ideological packaging that surrounds it.

Some Conclusions

There are three points that emerge from this chapter. First, that although the concept of ideology is highly ambiguous, it is capable of being used as an analytical tool in the study of the lived experiences and perspectives of YTS trainees and trainers. Ideology utilised in this sense helps us to explain 'subversive' and counter ideologies. For example, Willis (1977) did show how this process occurred within the classroom amongst pupils, however, the way that ideology will be used in this thesis allows us to see that subversive and counter ideologies are pervasive not only amongst YTS trainees, but their trainers and tutors also.

Two, it has been suggested here, and will be demonstrated further in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, that YTS participants have to work out their own philosophy in response to their daily work experience. They undoubtedly draw on their knowledge of official and societal ideologies, on their own moral convictions and the ideologies of localised curriculum policies which affect their particular scheme and the realities of classroom life during the off-the-job training. The complexity and variability of these factors are likely to require not only a resort to ready made societal ideologies but also a blending together of available ideas with a selection of practical observations. The resulting perspectives can then be used and developed in a flexible way to inform YTS participants' reactions to unpredictable and troublesome events as they arise.

Three, this chapter has set the agenda for further investigations into the many subtle ideological mechanisms which are manifested amongst the formal ideologies of certain members of the Government and MSC/TC/TA personnel. These formal ideologies then become official ideologies through the medium of social policy initiatives towards young people, their jobs, training and education. These official ideologies are then mediated through the YTS curriculum and affect the ideologies of both the trainers, who implement this curriculum and the trainees, who received this curriculum. This process in turn mediates and interwines between and within societal ideologies which also affect the philosophies of YTS participants. Still further, these ideologies are then related to the trainees entry

into a segmented labour market (cultural reproduction) and to their gender and class specific adult roles in the wider society (social reproduction).

The following chapters will discuss the above, thus, adding to our existing knowledge on the lived experiences and ideologies of school and new vocational participants and on the relationship between the microsociology of inequality and the macro structures of wider society.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME, THE OFFICIAL CURRICULUM AND FORMALISED IDEOLOGIES

> 'Ever since it was introduced, the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) has been extensively monitored, evaluated and researched, both by the Manpower Services Commission and in similar measure by its critics ... Unfortunately, there have been frequent changes and developments in the relatively short time that the Scheme has been in existence so that the research is constantly 'aiming at a moving target' and the results have all too frequently been overtaken by events before they appear.' (Lee et al, p 138 in Brown and Ashton 1987).

> 'The only constant thing about the YTS and the MSC is change' (MSC Scheme Assessor, Field Notes, May 1987)

The above quotations were applicable during the whole period of the fieldwork, and indeed, since its completion at the end of the summer of 1988.

There are four aims to this chapter. First, just as Chapter Two explained the characteristics of the social terrain from which the scheme has emerged, then this chapter seeks to describe and explain the characteristics of the YTS. This is necessary in order to place the trainers and their trainees in an appropriate social context.

Two, an explanation needs to be given of how the formalized ideologies of the MSC/TC/TA and members of the Government, materialises in concrete form through the medium of 'texts', 'literature' social policy initiatives and the general curriculum of off-the-job training. In other words, formalised ideologies become official ideologies. Formalised ideologies which support the needs of production in a capitalist economy, have become dominant ideologies because the individuals who subscribe to them - members of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA - hold power in the political, social and legislative arenas and also the mass-communication spheres that propagate such philosophies. This phenomenon is important because

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight will focus on to what extent the trainers and their trainees align themselves with the official curriculum of YTS and its associated formalized ideologies. Three, the criticisms aimed at the scheme will also be outlined in order to demonstrate that the formalised ideologies tend to neglect the 'darker side' of the scheme. The fourth aim is to explain the future directions of Youth Training. In the 1990s, the scheme is set to change yet again, thus reflecting the sentiments of the above quotations.

The Youth Training Scheme (YTS1)

Generally, the official view of a 'training crisis' in Britain looks towards vocational education and training arrangements in other countries as evidence to support the argument that a comprehensive system of training is needed in Britain. In comparison with West Germany, for example, where in 1978 67 per cent of the population had some form of educational and vocational qualification, the figure for Britain was 36 per cent. (Ashton, 1988). The YTS has closed this gap, but Britain is still lagging behind other countries. In 1981, 84 per cent of 16-18 year olds in West Germany were participating in some form of education or training compared with 63 per cent in Britain. In regard to full-time education the situation is even worse, for over half of all 16 year olds in Britain leave school compared with 5 per cent in Japan and between 10 and 20 per cent in Canada and the USA. (Ashton, 1988). Thus, a comprehensive educational and Training package was put forward by the MSC in order to deal with this 'crisis'.

As stated in Chapter Three, ideologies are materialised within 'texts'. The MSC's formalised ideologies for example, can be seen in 'a series of papers which set out the plans for the emergence of YTS'. In 1981 the MSC produced its paper, 'A New Training Initiative a Consultative Document' and at the same time the Government produced a White Paper, 'A New Training Initiative - A Programme for Action'. These papers put forward proposals for a scheme which would cater initially for 300,000 16 year olds with an allowance, for the trainee, which generally reflected supplementary benefit (now Income Support) levels. A third MSC paper emerged in

1982 entitled, 'The Youth Task Group Report', which officially sought to guard young people's interests whilst on the scheme. The report opened with the following words:

> 'This report is about providing a permanent bridge between school and work. It is not about youth unemployment ... Our report is about greatly increasing opportunities widening options and realising the potential of our young people. It is not about eliminating choice or introducing compulsion' (1.1-1,2).

As Willmore and Lewis (1985) argue, these are the words by which the performance of the scheme should be judged.

At this time, it seemed that the Youth Task Group (YTG) had performed a financial miracle (Raffe, 1984). The YTG was well aware that the cost of any alternative plan had to be kept within the £1,000 million cost of the White Paper's proposals, and yet the YTS was to be expanded from 300,000 to 460,000 trainees a year, and the allowance raised form £750 up to £1,450 per annum. The key to this 'financial miracle' lay in what has come to be known as the 'principle of additionality' (Chapman and Tooze, 1987) according to which each employer was expected to take on three additional trainees for every two young people normally recruited in order to qualify for a grant in respect of any young trainees. With the level of allowance in the region of £1450 the Task Group proposed that the grant should be £1950 per annum for employer based schemes. Thus the proposals were financially attractive to many employers, who would consequently not have to pay the wages of their first year trainees, would get a contribution towards their training costs and also, would have the productive services of the additional YTS trainees.

After the YTS was piloted in selected large companies in April 1983, the scheme became fully operational in September 1983. Its 'official' aims were threefold. First, to provide all young people participating in the scheme with a better start in their working and adult lives. This involved a 12 months integrated programme of training, education and work experience. The scheme was open to 16 year old school-leavers, 17 year old school-leavers (who had been out of work for six weeks) and some 18 year olds. During this period

each trainee received 13 weeks off-the-job (OJT) training which took place, both nationally and locally, either at a college of Further Education or with a training agency, or companies may provide their own in-house training. The content of the OJT, where it takes place and the pattern of attendance, day release, block release (with one or more blocks) and/or residential periods will vary according to the nature and requirements of individual schemes.

For the remaining nine months trainees were placed with firms for on-the-job training, also known as work experience placements. The second 'official' objective was to provide for the participating employer a better equipped young workforce, which has acquired some competence and practical experience in a range of related jobs or skills, thus enabling him/her to operate more productively in an ever increasing competitive labour market. Third, to develop and maintain a more versatile, readily adaptable, highly motivated and productive workforce which would assist Britain to compete successfully in the 1980's and beyond.

Trainees were placed on either Mode 'A' or mode 'B' Schemes. Mode A were schemes where an employer, Chamber of Commerce or industrial training organisation agreed with the MSC to act as a managing agent and arrange a complete programme of work experience, training and education. The agent either provided a complete YTS programme or subcontracted out all or some of the elements such as off-the-job training. Mode A schemes were open to both employed and unemployed, young people and the managing agent received a fee of £100 and a block grant of £1,950 for each trainee as a contribution towards training costs including the trainee's allowance.

A distinction was made between B1 and B2 schemes. Under Mode B1 the MSC arranged with a sponsor (such as a local authority or voluntary organisation) to provide a complete programme for the individual in a Training Workshop, community project or Information and Technology Centre (ITEC). The mode B2 or 'linked' schemes were designed for trainees from socially deprived backgrounds and were primarily a reversal of the mode A pattern and were built round

a short course of OJT and education supplemented by work experience of placements with one or more employers. There were important differences between modes, not only in terms of trainees, but also in terms of costs, relative size and provision by sector. In the case of the latter, for example, in October 1983 the private sector and private training agencies were providing almost three quarters of the Mode A places and the public sector and voluntary organisations were providing more than 80 per cent of the places on Mode B schemes.

It was also the responsibility of the managing agents to provide training in five 'core areas' which consists of 'numeracy and its application', 'communications/personal effectiveness', 'problem solving and planning', 'practical skills' and 'computer-literacy/information technology'. Each scheme had to offer facilities to learn about the 'World of Work', which means providing opportunities for trainees to obtain knowledge about industry, their role and responsibilities as workers, their relationships with other workers, the role of trade unions and changes in the structure of employment. Trainees should also be given the chance to learn about the 'world outside employment', thus the emphasis on a range of 'inter-personal', 'personal effectiveness', 'organisational' and general 'social etiquette' skills. Trainees should be able to acquire 'job specific skills' relevant to their placements, and also a broad range of skills that they could 'transfer' in different social and work settings. At this time the schemes available were in groups known as 'Occupational Training Families' (OTF) which later became known as 'Occupational Groups', 'Training Occupations', and in 1990 are also known as 'Training Occupational Classifications' and 'Occupational Areas'.

These occupational classifications consist of broad based categories which 'officially' are supposed to reflect national and local labour markets. In reality they reflect the MSC's formalised ideology which advocates a narrow employer orientated curriculum and a shift away from holistic ideological pedagogies. The approval of schemes, assistance with monitoring and assessment are all functions of 56 Area Manpower Boards who also have a vital role in co-ordinating and overseeing the local development for the YTS. To ensure that large

companies play their full part in the YTS a Large Companies Unit was established. It dealt with 20 per cent of Mode A placed in 1984-85 and dispenses with the need for companies to have to go over the same ground many times with different area offices.

One year YTS then, was 'big business', and as a Youthaid publication described it at the time, it:

> 'is by any standard a major enterprise. It's gross cost is over £800m a year; it caters for over 300,000 16 and 17 year olds; it uses over 100,000 workplaces managed by 6,000 Managing Agents, and 140 major companies. Three years ago it did not exit' (Willmore and Lewis 1985 p 1).

It follows from the above that the youth training industry is now so large and complex that a multitude of individuals and organisations are dependent upon it for their livelihood, whilst new staff and new tiers of businesses have sprung up to cope with youth training.

A Two Year Youth Training Scheme (YTS2)

As the scheme has progressed, then so too has the level of formalised ideology (discussed in Chapter Three) which seeks to justify a 'new improved' training package for young people. The following comment is an example of this phenomenon:

> 'Two year YTS will be a passport of performance for young people entering the world of work, which records their competence, to be stamped as their skills are updated or increased.' (Mr Brian Nicholson, Chairman of the MSC ('The Guardian', January 28 1986).

Although this formalised ideology does appear to contain elements of holistic ideology, the underlying philosophy of the Government and the MSC was directed at the changing needs of production in times of crises.

With youth unemployment still on the increase in 1985 plans were being prepared to develop the YTS from a one year scheme into a two year training and educational package. In March 1986 the Government agreed proposals from the MSC for this two-year scheme which became fully operational in April 1986. As well as a range of administrative and financial alterations eight major changes emerged

with the new scheme. First, the provision of a training programme leading to vocational qualifications with at least 20 weeks off-the-job training over a period of two years. Second, a planned programme of on-the-job training and work experience. Third, the offer of a YTS place to all 16 and 17 year old school leavers. Fourth, from April 1987, only 'Approved Training Organisations' (ATO) could take part in the scheme, once they had satisfied the MSC's criteria. Fifth, the distinction between the schemes modes were abolished and replaced with a unitary scheme. They are now financed on the basis of a per-capita block grant. There are two components: first, a management fee of £110 per contracted place that is payable at the start of each of the two years of the programme; and second, a basic grant of £160 per calendar month that is payable for up to 24 months on filled places for the 'special needs' of premium trainees. Sixthly, a raise in the allowance paid to trainees, which is currently £29.50 for the first year and increases to £35 in the second. The seventh change is that all trainees are given a 'training agreement', and lastly, the establishments for all schemes of 'Programme Review Teams' to include representatives of relevant trade unions and trainees.

At the end of March 1988 there were 389,250 [1] trainees nationally on YTS, 16 per cent of whom had 'employee status' [2] Office work, engineering and construction work account for 48 per cent of those in training, whilst nearly three quarters of all starts on basic funding schemes were places provided by the private sector. However, on premium funded programmes the majority of starts are split almost equally between the public and voluntary sectors, which together account for nearly 80 per cent of all starts. Overall, 50 per cent of males and 62 per cent of females have joined places in the private sector, 31 per cent and 24 per cent in the public sector, 15 per cent and 11 per cent in the voluntary sector and 3 per cent in 'Information Technology Centres' (ITeCs). (Youth Training News September October 1988 p 28).

By the time of the 1987/88 YTS Funding Review there were 3,300 YTS Managing Agents delivering over 5,000 individual two year YTS schemes. The trend was towards a greater proportion of schemes

provided by the private sector organisation (50%) and fewer by the public sector including nationalized industries (30%). The proportion of places in private sector organisations was even higher (65%) with 25% in the public sector. The private sector accounts for over 90% of the external organisations which provide work experience to Managing Agents (MSC 1988).

Since the start of YTS2 there have been a series of further major and cosmetic changes. For example, in 1987 the Chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, Sir Bryan Nicholson, resigned and used his own 'transferable skills' for his post as Chairman of the Post Office.

In November 1987, a radical restructuring of the MSC was announced. The following May (1988) after 14 years of instigating the training and education policies of a whole generation, the MSC was changed to the Training Commission (TC) and by September 1988 it was again changed to a new title, The Training Agency (TA). During the changes, in 1987 one of the key initiatives for adult training, the Job Training Scheme (JTS) collapsed, due to a rapid decline in participants, and resulted in a political and financial embarrassment for the Government. The JTS was later re-packaged in 1988 as the Employment Training Scheme (ET). The £10 premium which forms the incentive to join has quickly been labelled the 'Extra Tenner Scheme'.

Further changes emerged with the return of a Conservative Government in May 1987. A new range of policies were introduced which mean that young people under the age of 18 are to lose their entitlement to benefits if they are unemployed. Since September 1988 when a young person reaches the age of 16 they are expected to continue either in education or under the Government's Guarantee, if they are in the labour market but without a job then they are entitled to an offer of a place on the YTS. Many observers deduce from this that behind the glossy brochures and official rhetoric associated with the scheme young people are

> '... no longer 'encouraged' into 'training' by claims about its high quality or its record of placing people

> in permanent jobs. Rather, they are to be cajoled into joining, and penalised if they refuse. In short, youngsters, are to be conscripted into training on pain of loss of benefit. In 1988, the element of voluntarism has finally been removed from youth training'. (Coles, 1988, p 193)

The purpose of this chapter so far has been to describe the formal structure and design of the YTS at national level. Thus, just as it is necessary to describe the social terrain in order to contextualise the YTS, then it is also necessary to describe the YTS in order to place the trainers and trainees in an appropriate social context. The next section will focus on how formalised ideologies are embedded in the curriculum of the YTS and how they support the needs of production in a capitalist economy at the expense of ideologies that emphasise more holistic approaches towards young people.

The Off-the-Job Training Curriculum and Formalised Ideologies

Research has shown that ideologies are embedded in the form and content of curriculum materials and practices which not only accentuates the delivery of instruction, but at the same time removes critique from the pedagogical act. Buswell (1980) illustrates how specific principles structure the text and classroom social relations so as to legitimate modes of learning that promote passivity and rule following rather than critical engagement on the part of teachers and students. Apple (1982), shows how the principles that structure the production and use of curriculum materials are rooted in specific interests that reinforce a division of labour that separates conception from execution at the level of teaching itself.

These studies are complemented by Jameson (1979) and Arnot and Whitty (1982) who include historical factors in their analysis and argue that educational meanings and practices are 'read' by teachers and students through interpretations and selective principles that bear the weight of pre-existing situations and constituted ideologies. The above elements can be seen to be a part of the off-the-job training and educational curriculum of the YTS. This curriculum must be seen:

> 'in terms of a learning syllabus (content) and pedagogy (procedures and rules) fundamentally ensconced in an organisation. It is the totality of the organisation, its behaviour, and the behaviour of its members, which is the curriculum'.
> (Edwards, 1984, p16)

As suggested earlier in this chapter, and in chapters two and three, formalised ideologies of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA are concretised in the whole YTS curriculum. The MSC's 'three objectives' put forward in 'A New Training Initiative: A Consultative Document' (1981) is an example of how this formalised ideology becomes official social policy. The three objectives suggest that the initiative would be beneficial to employers because they would obtain:

> '... a more versatile, more readily adaptable, more highly motivated and therefore more productive workforce'. (p.5).

It would be advantageous to employees and their unions as it would offer:

> '... a better start in working life for all young people, greatly increased opportunities for career progression in later life'. (p.5).

Whilst for the education service the initiative offers:

> ' ... a realisation of many hopes and aspirations for young people and a key role in partnership with employers and unions in positive action'. (p.5).

It can be seen from the above quotations that a movement has occurred away from any form of holistic ideology, towards an ideology which concentrates on the needs of production. Furthermore this formalised ideology has masked what happens to young people in reality. In reality, as Chapters Two and Three have suggested the YTS is biased towards the needs of production of a modern capitalist economy in a time of crises. Thus, despite the rhetoric, the scheme in the main, is geared towards chanelling certain types of young people towards certain types of menial work, in certain types of work environment, that is into a segmented youth labour market.

Indeed, all the MSC/TC/TA reports, reviews and policy documents from the late 1970s, 1980s and now into the 1990s are couced in formalised ideology. Thus, the YTS, it is claimed, offers

'quality training', with specific 'curricular and competence objectives', which would lead the trainees to learn 'flexible skills'. Alongside these skills the trainees follow a 'personal effectiveness' programme which encourages 'enterprise skills' and offers them support in their transition from school to work and their general 'preparation for life'. Thus, formalised ideologies have become concretised in the linguistic packaging of the new vocationalism the YTS, the 'culture of enterprise' the OJT syllabi, the personal profile and the majority of teaching materials.

One formalised ideological thread, which intertwines within and between each training and education subject area, can be seen as the 'personal effectiveness' (PE) component and preceding this the concept of 'social and life skills' (SLS).

Pioneers of SLS/PE are the Industrial Training Research Unit and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology (Cohen 1984). The former put forward the 'CRAMP approach to the teaching of Social and Life Skills' (1976). This booklet was concerned to draw an analogy between the methods by which mechanical skills are taught in industrial training, and the methods for teaching interpersonal skills. CRAMP is a taxonomy of different kinds of learning: Comprehension, Reflex learning; Attitude development; Memorisation and Procedual Learning. The work of the Industrial Training Research Unit was reflected in the MSC's 'Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills' (1978) which put forward a suggested curriculum of training and education.

Furthermore, in agreement with Cohen (1984) the majority of the SLS/PE learning materials, with their advice, cartoons and photo-stories not only present a cosy image of life and of young people's attempts at coping in the present recession, but they also show authority figures who are associated with YTS in a helping and caring light. A whole series of teaching materials are used by the OJT tutors/trainers, such as, 'teaching wallets'; 'study kits'; 'games', 'audio cassettes'; 'videos'; 'computer software' and books. Job specific titles such as, 'Preparing for Work', 'Workshuffle' 'The Job Pack' 'Jobmate', 'Young People's Pack', 'Life and Work pack, and

Life Skills Training Manual' are common non-book materials. Books on SLS/PE include 'Social and Life Skills Assignment Worksheets', which offers 64 SLS/PE tasks and 'Just the job' which provides sections on self-assessment, job assessment, job applications and the experience of work.[3]

The MSC/TC/TA's Careers and Occupational Information Centre in Moorfoot Sheffield also produce extensive teaching aids for use with YTS, CPVE and the TVEI. Self explanatory titles include 'Developing Personal Effectiveness', 'Personal Development', 'Role and Simulation' and 'Organisation'. The latter, for example, is a basis for introducing some of the skills and attitudes highly valued by employers.

The formalised ideologies of the MSC/TC/TA are also apparent in the learning programmes, associated guidance literature and expected behaviour patterns of the trainers/tutors. Again the emphasis is on the needs of production in a capitalist economy. For example, at an introductory seminar for those applying for 'National Training Initiative' (NTI) (Pilot programmes for YTS) teaching posts at a College of Further Education, the college management told prospective teachers:

> 'they were expected to be 'flexible', 'adaptable', and have no 'preconceived notion about education and NTI'. They were told that just as trainees would suffer penalties for failure to attend, the teacher would be subject to dismissal if her/his trainees did not turn up' (Williams, 1983 p 90).

Today, YTS staff can also equip themselves with '27 areas of competence' by attending one of 55 Accredited Centres throughout Great Britain which follow a standard MSC training model (Thomson and Rosenberg 1986). The length of training can be delivered singularly or in blocks of various combinations. Formal college based qualifications may be offered such as the City and Guilds 924 Youth Trainers Award. The Accredited Training Centre for West Devon is based at Cornwall's Cambourne College of FE. All these courses have been developed, nationally and locally, in conjunction with, and the support of, the MSC/TC/TA. The Further Education Unit (1983), the Grubb Institute (1986) and the National Youth Bureau (1988) have

also produced guidance material, discussion documents and SLS/PE procedual requirements for YTS tutors/trainers co-ordinators, supervisors, youth workers and all those parties involved in the delivery of OJT and the scheme generally. In fact the wealth of learning materials on this area has resulted in Thorne (1986) producing a programme which is aimed at helping YTS staff select from the confusing and often expensive learning materials on the market.

The point here is that the concept of a formalised ideology which is expressed by the MSC/TC/TA and members of the Government and which materialises in concrete material form must not be seen as a major conspiracy (see Chapter Three). Rather, what I have argued so far in this thesis is that;

> 'Ideology is a crucial construct for understanding how meaning is produced, transformed and consumed by individuals and social groups. As a tool of critical analysis, it digs beneath the phenomenal forms of classroom knowledge and social practices and helps to locate the structuring of principles and ideas that mediate between the dominant society and the everyday experience of teachers and students'.
> (Giroux 1984, pp 332-333)

YTS: The Darker Side

As mentioned in Chapter Two, although the new vocationalism, 'has a wide range of support at the highest levels', it is still criticised by a range of social observers. Many of these criticisms have already been discussed, however, an account does need to be given of some of the documented evidence which critically analyses the YTS and the preceding YOP initiative. This is necessary because the official philosophies concerning the purpose of the scheme which are manifested in the formalised ideologies of members of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA and concretised in their published texts, actually mask the negative aspects of the scheme.

There have been an array of documental studies highlighting the dangers of job substitution and skill dilution, on the cheapening of the youth wage on the impact of YTS on the reproduction of inequalities based on 'class' (Bates, et al 1984, Finn 1987, Ainley 1988, Shilling 1989) based on 'gender' (Farish 1984, Pollert 1986,

Cockburn 1987) based on 'race' (CRE, 1980, 1984, YETRU, 1987, 1989) and how all these variables effect the eventual labour market positions and life chances of YTS trainees (National Labour Movement 1987).

Other criticisms of the scheme have accused the MSC of 'editing out of training' any 'questions regarding how industry is organised and managed', 'how wealth is accumulated', and 'how wages, skills and allowances are legitimated and sustained' (Gleeson, 1986 pp 59-60), whilst 'David Young's assertion that a YTS certificate is worth more than an 'A Level pass', has been described as 'patronising Government propaganda' (Benn & Fairley, 1986, p 17). Still further reports have analysed both YOPS and YTS as mechanisms of 'social control' (Moos 1983) or 'remedial models of vocational and compensatory education' (Rees and Atkinson 1982) as psychological adjustment training, (Frith, 1984, Buswell, 1986), as 'cultural deficit models' (Bates 1984) whereby working class young people are seen in some sense deprived of the culture of the middle class.

The Government's concretised formal ideology can be seen in a 'Think Tank' document which was circulated to cabinet ministers in February 1981. (Youthaid 1984). This document suggested that the overall strategy of the YTS was to lower the pay and expectations of young people and to change their status as workers. Indeed, these sentiments were echoed by a Mr J Hoskyns, a one time advisor to Mrs Thatcher who suggested that:

> 'bringing down the wages of young people is a key objective of the scheme'
> (Barr and Aspinwall 1984, p 27)

We can look in more detail at the criticism of YTS by focussing on the general area of 'equal opportunities'. Despite the MSC/TC/TA's instructions to YTS providers, that in order to secure 'Approved Training Organisation' (ATO) status by fulfilling various criteria such as financial viability, health and safety, and equal opportunities, and also, despite advocating that schemes will have to: 'declare and demonstrate a commitment to provide ... equality of opportunity regardless of sex, race, religion or disability (MSC ATO Pack 1986), inequalities on the scheme continue to occur. Further,

the formal ideologies of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA do not demonstrate their commitment to alleviate this situation, as they concentrate instead on the needs of production.

Let us take several examples beginning with 'race'. A YETRU (1989) report entitled 'The Firms That Like to Say No' points out that the country's major employers are accused of failing to implement YTS Equal Opportunities Policies. The report uses ethnic monitoring statistics to show the extent of this inequality at a national level. From Table 4 we can see that well known stores and banks have an unsatisfactory record of recruiting black trainees. Many of these firms offer some of the best conditions for trainees, such as higher rates of allowance and high job success rates, but they fail to take on black trainees, despite having outlets in areas where black communities tend to be based.

Table 4. Large Company Units with no Black trainees. Britain, October 1987.

Name	No of Trainees	Name	No of Trainees
AA	52	Morrison Supermarkets	88
C & A Modes	75	National Coal Board	117
Co-op Retail	175	Nationwide	19
De Vere Group	137	Rumbelows	328
DER	122	Safeway Foodstores	62
Electronic Rentals	130	Thomson Holidays	21
F H Burgess	90	Timpson Shoe Repairs	46
Foster Menswear	81	Waitrose	16
J H Dewhurst	241	Yorkshire Bank	52

Source: YETRU Jan 1989

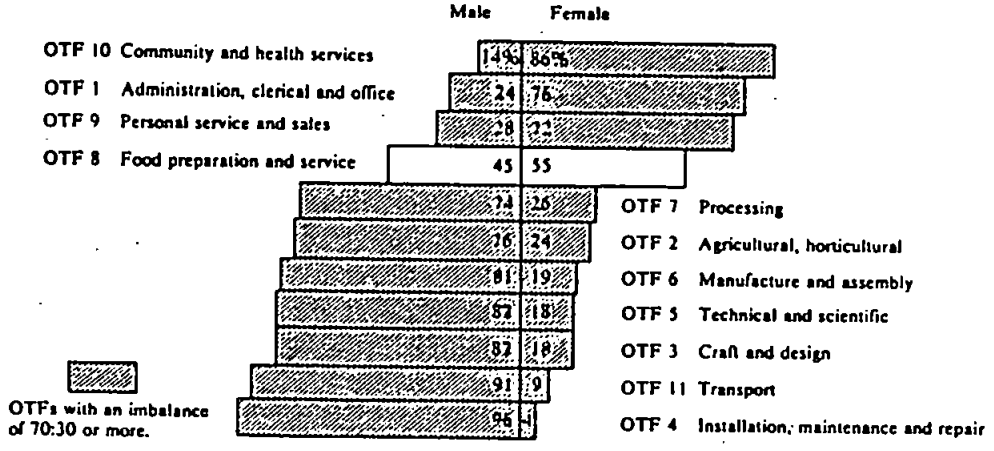
The effect this has on the future employment prospects for large numbers of black trainees compounds their position even further. Black YTS leavers have significantly less success in obtaining

full-time employment than their white colleagues. For example, the MSC/TC/TA's own survey of young people leaving the last year of the one year YTS revealed that, three months after leaving, 60% of white leavers were in full-time work, as opposed to 38% of Afro-Caribbean leavers and 34% of Asian leavers (Youthaid Bulletin 1987). Racial discrimination is also found within the different schemes available. Black trainees, for example, are over-represented on lower quality schemes and are more likely to leave their YTS due to not enough training being provided. Therefore, for black trainees, the general experience of YTS is of low quality training, minimum training allowances and poor job opportunities. Thus:

> 'for all its talk of equal opportunities, the MSC has not implemented any policies which will break the mould of racial inequality or seriously challenge racial discrimination. Not only is YTS reproducing racial disadvantage in the labour market and training, but its selective hierarchical structure is ... entrenching inequality' (Willmore & Lewis 1985 p 15).

This hierarchy of quality on YTS takes place also in regard to gender. The YTS breaks no new ground in reducing sex discrimination for young women in their choice in the job market. Therefore, just as the employment sphere is characterised by labour market segmentation (see Chapter Two) based on sex, then so too is the YTS. Figure 1 below illustrates, nationally all trainees, distributed by sex to the 'occupational training families' of their placements during the period April to December 1985.

Figure 1.1 *YTS 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally (all trainees, distributed by sex to the 'occupational training families' of their placements)*



Note: Figures cover approximately 89 per cent of all trainees. Excluded are those who are not reported by their managing agents as allocated to a specific OTF.

(Reproduced in Cockburn (1987 p 9))

Figure 1 illustrates fully, a 'two-track system of training, (Cockburn 1987), resulting in 'girls' and boys' schemes. Young men are therefore spread over a greater range of industries and occupations in comparison to young women.

The MSC/TC/TA's 'occupational groups' then can be seen to reinforce the traditional gender specific roles between men's and women's work and help to reproduce segregated gender labour markets (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Therefore, the chances of female trainees obtaining any job, whether it is characterised by 'low pay', 'poor conditions', or 'restricted career paths' are that much more severe relative to male trainees. The point here, as Joseph and Lewis (1981) remind us, is that during the long intricate history of the organisation of reproduction gender ideologies have evolved and have been consolidated to protect this organisation of reproduction and the interwoven economic organisation which itself has sustained simultaneously a class, race, and sex hierarchy. It is not being suggested here that this situation results in only women experiencing oppression - that is, being excluded from the same freedoms, rights and equalities in life chances that men enjoy - as many men are also oppressed relative to other men. However, this tends to be on the basis of their 'class' or 'race' not their 'sex'. Thus male restrictions in access to life chances are because they are white or black working class men, or because they are homosexual or young. It follows therefore that women - to varying degrees - whether black, white, young or lesbian may also be affected by the same oppressions as men, yet in addition, women experience a great many more further and severe oppressive acts which are aimed solely at women as a sex - that is, because they are female.

From this standpoint:

> 'What we need to analyse are precisely the mechanisms by which women's oppression is secured in different contexts, since only then can we confront the problem of how to change it'.
> (p 250 in Barrett 1980).

Or still further:

> 'Over thousands of years, men have created and maintained an inclosure of institutional oppression to

fortify their domination of women by using many institutions and values as vehicles of oppression'. (p 301 in Jaggar and Struhl eds 1978).

The point here, as the three quotations above illustrate and which will be highlighted further in Chapter Eight, is that the YTS is the latest in a long line of institutions which restrict women's life chances. It will be shown that the off-the-job training arena is indeed a new 'mechanism by which women's oppression is secured'. However, it will be demonstrated that this oppression is not simply a deterministic or dogmatic process, rather, female trainees bring into the off-the-job establishments societal ideologies associated with their gender specific roles. In this sense, they aid and abet their own inequalities in life chances.

Many other reasons have been put forward which restricts the life chances of trainees when leaving the scheme. For example, concern has been expressed by social scientists, educationalists, trade unionists and the Labour Movement in general, with regard to the content, quality and the appropriate delivery of YTS, and on an adequate integration between the on-and-off-the-job-training (Devon County Council, 1984, DES 1984, Rickman et al 1986). Further concern has focussed on the inadequacy of funding and in some cases such a low level of scheme monitoring and inspection that many private training organisations have been in breach of criminal law. (TURC, 1984, 1986). Still further, studies have shown that many trainees are moved from scheme to scheme (scheme hoppers), refuse to participate or leave their scheme early. (Craig 1986). In 1984, for example, there were approximately 20,000 to 30,000 16 year old school leavers who did not take part in YTS. This represents 6% of all 16 year olds who left school in 1984 (Employment Gazette, July 1986, pp 271-273).

Other research by the Unemployment Unit and Youthaid (Working Brief December 1989) shows that despite the Government declaring in 1988, that all young people under 18 years of age will be guaranteed a YTS place, not every person can get one. Though each region has plenty of spare YTS places, many young people are not being offered or accepted for these vacancies. Particular difficulty is faced by the

homeless, pregnant young women, those nearing their 18th birthday and 'slow learners'.

The above is a result of recent benefit changes for young people, however the scheme has constantly been plagued by a range of difficulties. Youthaid's Bulletin (1986) put forward the following comment soon after YTS2 had started:

> 'When the non-respondents and the people swapping from one YTS to another are excluded, less than six out of ten get work, just over three out of ten go onto the dole and the remaining one in ten does something else' (p4).

Concern is also expressed by the trainees themselves. A recently published Youth Cohort Study (MSC 1988) which followed the progress of nearly 8,000 young people, found that while 81% of those who went on YTS had something 'positive to say' about the scheme, 67% also declared their dislike of 'something about YTS'. One in three thought the allowance was too low.

A similar avoidance of this darker side of the scheme by the Government and the MSC/TC/TA can also be seen with regard to 'health and safety'. The TUC (1984) for example, note that during 1984, 169 YTS work placements were closed and 61 placements were not accepted because they failed to meet MSC's health and safety standards. The reasons ranged from inadequate supervision; general untidiness and lack of cleanliness on premises; unsafe working practices or poor attitudes to safety by the employer or provider; and machinery in poor condition or inadequately guarded. Despite the above measures Willmore & Lewis (1985) note that between the dates of 1 April 1980 to 31 March 1984 (YOP and YTS) there were 19 deaths, 718 major injuries and 9,020 minor injuries and from 1 April 1983 to 30 June 1985 there were 9 deaths, 318 major injuries and 2,989 minor injuries, as well as a further 4 deaths of YTS trainees in 1986. They also note that any compensation given to the parents of dead trainees seems to amount to a small sum of £78.

Despite counter arguments, such as, research done by Aston University, commissioned by the MSC (Employment Gazette, September

1986, p 348) which found that young people on YOP (forerunner to YTS) did not have a higher accident rate than employed young people generally, the latest statistics (YETRU, 1989) show an increase in the trend of accidents to young people in training. Since 1985 the moving average of total and major injuries on YTS has increased by 59.2% (July - September 1985) to 136.2% (July - September 1988, accidents per 100,000 trainees). With only 20 specialist safety advisors to inspect the workplaces of several hundred thousand trainees then these figures are not surprising. These accidents have occurred despite the fact that as early as 1984 a document on MSC agreements with managing agents stresses that:

> 'It shall be the responsibility of the Managing Agent to take necessary steps for securing the health, safety and welfare of all young persons participating in the Programme to the same extent and in the same manner as an employer is required to do in relation to his employees by or under the relevant legislation for the time being in force in Great Britain'.
> (TUC 1984, p12)

The point of this section is that the Government's and the MSC/TC/TA's official ideology does not give equal publicity to this somewhat 'darker side of the scheme', preferring instead, to justify the investment of billions of pounds in order to solve the problems of youth unemployment and compensate for the alleged deficiencies of the education system in turning out unemployable youths. Their formalised ideology is further reinforced by being concretised in a multi-million pound advertising campaign, glossy brochures and rhetoric.

The Future of Youth Training - '57 Varieties'

The formalised ideologies of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA are constantly being refined. The most important new direction of their philosophies has taken place in the late 1980s and now at the start of the 1990s. Their 'culture of enterprise' ideology demands that trainees need to be resourceful and flexible and must adapt quickly to changes in regard to their skills and knowledge. They need to be able to innovate, recognise and create opportunities, to work as a member of a team, take risks, respond to challenges, communicate effectively, be computer literate, display drive and

determination, influence others, and monitor their own progress. Coles and MacDonald (1989, p 12) give a splendid account of the present and future implications of this mushrooming phenomenon:

> 'Trainees under 'enterprise training' are encouraged to, develop 'self diagnosis', 'action plans' and 'self appraisal' of what they gain from their training. The whole package is to be geared to nationally agreed systems of assessment and the 'action plans' and certificates of 'modules of competence' filed away as a permanent record in a NROVA (National Record of Vocational Achievement) file, which has quickly gained the tag 'Pizza Case'. NROVA certification is set to become the norm across all institutions of training and education, so that soon even university applicants will expect admission tutors to scrutinise the contents of their 'pizza case' rather than merely count 'A' Level grades'.

It can be seen from the above that the 'Pizza Case' is another example of how the Governments and MSC/TC/TA formalised ideologies are concretised in material form thus emphasising further shifts towards needs of production ideologies at the expense of holistic ideologies. Indeed, this is also the case with the 'National Curriculum' where these formalised ideologies manifest themselves in state school curricula which define centrally the content of 90 per cent of all school timetables and the testing of all pupils at the ages of 7, 11 and 14. Just as the YTS was described as a 'rush and shambles' (see Chapter Two) then so too is the 'National Curriculum'. Indeed, as of April 1990 the Government have decided to only 'test' 7 and 11 year olds in a limited number of subjects rather than the full curriculum that was initially proposed.

Other changing trends have also taken place. In 1988, 1989 and now in 1990, a decline in youth unemployment is occurring in certain areas of Britain, especially in the South East of the country. This has prompted the MSC/TC/TA to indicate that there can be much 'flexibility' in applying the rules concerning off-the-job training (TES Feb 1989). It has also been shown (Chandler 1989) that the YTS has indeed evolved even further into serving the interests of employers, at the expense of trade unions and is becoming employer led and controlled.

Indeed, the formalised ideology associated with these new directions has become concretised in the Government's White Paper 'Employment for the 1990's' (1988). It paid tribute to the achievement of the current YTS, but identified the need to review the scheme in the light of changing economic trends. The paper stressed the need to run youth training with more emphasis on qualifications and:

> '... for employers progressively to assume a fuller share of the costs of YTS. This has always been the Government's stated intention. It is in the interests of both employers and young people that, through the new Training and Enterprise Councils, (TECs) employers should progressively take over from Government the ownership and development of youth training and so raise the level of qualifications of new entrants to the workforce'. (p 47)

It is envisaged that a national network of approximately 100 TECS and local Scottish agencies will cover the whole of Great Britain and will emphasise outputs, employer involvement, local delivery and flexibility. Thus the YTS will no longer consist of a 'unified scheme', instead in the future a variety of 'Youth Training' programme will receive government funding rather than the one Youth Training Scheme.

Youth training programmes will fall into one of two basic categories; those which place primary emphasis on trainees gaining a qualification and those where the main aim will be to get a young person quickly into a job. Potential participants will be seen as belonging to one of two groups - those who are worth the investment of high level training and those who are not. The two groups of young people being particularly targeted for 'youth training' are: unemployed young people covered by the Government's guarantee; and young people 'capable of securing qualifications at skilled crafts and technician levels'.

It will be the responsibility of the area TEC offices to ensure that individual young people with 'Special Training Needs' (STN) are properly identified. However, as with the premium funded trainees, in practice this role will probably be undertaken by the Careers Service. Three types of STN trainees have been identified: young people needing a period of Initial Training or preparation (for a

maximum of 6 months); those for whom it would be unfair and unreasonable to expect to participate effectively in higher level training (level two) and those who have a reasonable prospect of achieving qualifications at level two providing they receive sufficient additional support and help.

In short there are five major differences between the YTS and the new Youth Training programme. First, a guaranteed opportunity to achieve a recognised qualification at an acceptable level. Second, an emphasis on outcomes, not processes. Third, entry and exit points not bound by time or age. Fourth, training tailored to the individual and local/national economic needs. Fifthly, local planning and delivery. All these changes are not likely to take place before June 1990. (Update, Training Agency, No. 33 January 1990).

At a recent meeting (January 1990) of the local TEC board for the Surfton area (where the research is situated) it was decided that in order to cope with all the proposed changes, then '... it was basically a question of throwing the rule book away'. Indeed, it was also stated that the message they had received from MSC/TC/TA head office had been '... no centrally prescribed framework' ... the decisions on the future of Youth Training would be made by the local TEC board'. This situation can be seen to reflect the disillusionment with formalised ideologies held by some of the YTS trainers in this research (see Chapter Six).

As can be deduced from Chapter Two and this Chapter, researching into youth training programmes is researching a moving target. However, whatever the changes that take place whether they be design, delivery or budgets, the same underlying themes described in Chapters Two and Three are still applicable. Thus, the new Youth Training is being marketed as yet another 'new improved scheme' with the same formalised ideological justification, as the following quote from a recent MSC/TC/TA publication illustrates:

> 'Overall, the new programme is aimed at securing broad-based quality training leading to recognised vocational qualifications for all young people: raising the levels of skills in the economy; and helping to bring about improvements in other features of the

> provision of vocational education and training for young people at local level. The programme will contain a strong emphasis on outputs and flexibility'. (Update No.33 January 1990)

Indeed these new Youth Training programmes of the future still have inequalities within them:

> '... a distinction is being made between, on the one hand, young people who are capable of gaining high level qualifications and, on the other, young people who are unemployed, or have a disability or who come from a, 'disadvantaged background. This is wrong or dangerous' (Unemployment Unit & Youthaid 'Working Brief', December 1989).

The point here is that these formalised ideologies mask these inequalities, emphasising instead on the 'new improved schemes' for young people and enterprise initiatives for the wider population. Indeed Michael Howard, MP, the new Employment Secretary, who replaced Norman Fowler, MP, on January 3rd 1990, sees the new Youth Training programmes along with adult training, as part of the 'skills decade' he envisages for the 1990s. He points out that:

> 'The Europe of tomorrow ... will be one in which people find it easier than ever before to move country and job'. (Employment News, January/February 1990).

The Training Agency's Director General, Roger Dawe, echoes the above sentiments and reminds us of the aims of Fowler which were expressed in a series of speeches just before his resignation. (TA; Update, No. 33, January 1990). These aims are that by the end of 1992, no young person should be employed in a job without training and by the same date, two-thirds of young people should have achieved the National Vocational Qualification, Level Two and by the same dates 25 per cent of young people should have reached Level Three - an advanced vocational qualification. By 1995, all young people should by the age of 18 have a recognised qualification at Level Two and half should have progressed to a qualification at Level Three.

Similar progress is envisaged by the Training Agency in regard to adult education and training. By the year 2000, for example, the aim is for half the employed workforce to be qualified to Level Three

of the National Vocational Qualification or its academic equivalent ('A' level) whilst, by December 1995, all employers of whatever size, in whatever sector will have received a seal of approval as an 'Investor in People'.

It follows from the above that these new ideological directions have shifted from 'vocationalism for some' to 'enterprise for all'. Furthermore, the discourses of 'vocationalism' and 'enterprise' also display differences. The former stresses the need for changing attitudes to work and industry, whereas, the latter promotes initiative, constructive approaches to problem solving, adaptability, self-monitoring and self-reliance. What has occurred then is the dominance of the needs of production ideology over holistic ideologies.

Some Conclusions

There are six areas that have been covered in this chapter. First, the formal structure, design and philosophy of the YTS needed to be described. This was necessary in order to explain the environment that the subjects of this research - the trainers and the trainees - are situated within. Second, it has been shown that the formalised ideologies of the MSC/TC/TA and members of the Government are concretised in 'texts', social policy initiatives and linguistic packaging associated with the scheme. Third, this results in the formalised ideologies expounding the virtues of the scheme and somewhat neglecting or masking, what could be said to be the darker side of the YTS, that is the general inequalities in life chances of the trainees. Fourth, this chapter has shown that the scheme is constantly experiencing new changes and developments, both practically and ideologically which therefore means that any research on it is indeed, researching a 'moving target'. Fifthly it can be seen that in reality the scheme is practically and ideologically biased towards the needs of production of a modern capitalist economy in a time of recession. However, despite this, Chapters Six, Seven and Eight will show that in practice the space exists for reinterpretation by YTS participants. Sixthly, this chapter has shown that the philosophies surrounding the new vocationalism have mushroomed so that they are used in one way with the YTS and in another way with 'Enterprise in Higher Education' initiatives. Thus, the 'enterprise

culture' is not just directed at low academic achievers, but towards all levels of academia and society in general.

Chapter Six, Seven and Eight focus on to what extent the trainers and trainees align themselves with this official curriculum and its associated formalised ideologies. First though, Chapter Five will explain the practical research process in the generation of data on the trainees and their trainers.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE 'SELF' THE GENERATION OF DATA AND THE RESEARCH PROCESS

> 'The Sociological imagination, I remind you in considerable part consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to another, and in the process to build up an adequate view of a total society and its components. It is this imagination, of course, that sets off the social scientists from the mere technician'. (Mills, 1959, p 232)

This chapter is concerned with the practical research process, the down-to-earth, everyday and often mundane activities and actions involved in actually doing research. In agreement with Farran (1986) this is something which the textbook writers on 'how to do research' never actually come to grips with, as there is a tendency to replace the everyday nitty-gritty with theoretical and abstract reconstructions.

It follows that more needs to be written by sociologists telling of their diverse and various experiences of actually producing sociology. Therefore, my aim here is to demonstrate something about the way that my 'self' as researcher operated. Thus, as previous writers on community studies have demonstrated, this would lead us to an:

> 'intimate connection between the investigator, his method of investigation, his results and his own future intellectual development'. (Vidich, et al (eds) 1964, p ix)

Therefore in agreement with Bell and Newby (1971), both the data generated from studying a particular subject and the research process itself, must be seen as producing significant sociological data in their own right. Certainly, this process was instrumental in producing the theoretical scaffolding of the thesis discussed in Chapter Three.

The problem for the research then was: how can I employ methodological instruments that would allow me to locate, describe and analyse ideologies amongst YTS participants? For example, what methods could I use which would measure trainee alignments with the

formalised ideology expressed in the official YTS curriculum? How could I identify societal ideologies associated with 'class' or 'gender'? Was it possible to interview and observe YTS staff which would allow me to discover whether or not they held Holistic ideologies which consist of heuristic approaches towards education and training, or did they hold Needs of Production (NOP) ideologies which reflected the formalised ideologies of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA? In other words how could I spot an ideology? I was concerned also with the problem of ideology forming a source of bias in my work. For example, it could be argued that I too was influenced by formal and societal ideologies during the course of generating data?

The chapter then seeks to describe, explain and analyse these problems by employing the following methodological tools. First, Chapter Three has shown that the concept of ideology can be utilised as a way of analysing an array of ideologies amongst YTS participants. Second, the triangulated method of inquiry combining questionnaires, participant observation group and individual interviews which combine to produce a richer account of the research topic under investigation. Third the role of the 'self' and the sociological imagination in the generation of data. As stated previously, from April 1987 to the summer of 1988 I traced a group of 150 YTS trainees and fifteen of their trainers/tutors, as they progressed through the scheme using a combination of questionnaires, participant observation, group and individual interviews. Before this research process is explained, the geographical location of the research needs to be discussed.

YTS in Devon and Cornwall

The research took place in Surfton which is a large city in the county of Devon in the South West of England. (See Chapter Five) Surfton has over 70 YTS schemes in progress, Devon itself, has a population estimated at 988,000 in 1985. It is 'divided' into ten local authority districts, the largest, Surfton, (253 thousand) which includes a major dockyard and an extensive industrial/services centre, having over 25 per cent of the counties population. Of the remaining districts, the holiday resort of Torbay, with a population of 118 thousand is the next largest, followed by East Devon (112

thousand), Teignbridge (101 thousand) and Exeter, the administrative centre, with 100 thousand. The other five districts are Mid-Devon, North Devon, South Hams, Torridge and West Devon.

The MSC's Regional Manpower Intelligence Unit's document (1987) shows that unemployment rates in Devon, broadly follow the regional and national (Great Britain) trend, with an average unemployment rate of 13.4% during the period June 1985 - June 1986. Devon County has the second highest rate within the South West. The Average regional and national rates were 11.8% and 13.2% respectively. Numerically, Devon averaged 48.6 thousand unemployed claimants, the highest in the South West. This represents 23.6% of the regions total unemployed. The latest Department of Employment Count for unemployment in the South West suggests that in October 1989 87,700 (4.1%) people were unemployed. However, the Unemployment Unit Index which estimates unemployment on the pre-1982 basis and which takes account of changes to benefit regulations and other adjustments to the system of counting puts the figure at 129,500 (6.1%) (Unemployment Unit & Youthaid 'Working Brief' December 1989).

As can be expected, fluctuations in unemployment exist between rural and urban areas within the region (Deacon 1987) and between the seasons, all of which affects the fortunes of the county, raising the number of people unemployed by as much as 7.2 thousand during the winter months, whilst in the county of Cornwall, during the summer it is estimated (Dunkerley and Faerden 1985) that 13 per cent of all employment in the county is generated by the tourist industry. Most importantly, these seasonal workers are local, often young and otherwise would be unemployed. During the 1980s a large number of employees have been shed from primary industries, construction and manufacturing, whilst the number of employees in the service sector has grown. Devon is also characterised by low wages, a growing number of women seeking and finding paid employment and an increase in the self employed.

As stated in Chapter Two, the structure and organisational practices of YTS are affected by the above criteria. Thus, the scheme does not exist in a vacuum. It takes place within the social terrain, therefore, the character of the local labour market influences the structure of training and determines the employment prospects of YTS leavers. This situation in turn, influences the experiences and perspectives of YTS participants.

In the main, YTS has absorbed the potentially unemployed young people in Devon and Cornwall. Approximately one third of young people in the South West entered YTS as they reached the minimum school leaving age, a higher proportion than is found in a national profile of the age group. (see Table One). In Devon young people are twice as likely to enter YTS as direct employment at 16, in Cornwall they are three times as likely to do so. For Devon this figure reflects the national average for employment direct from school with Cornwall far below this figure. In fact it has been estimated that 63% of all 16-17 year olds began working life on a YTS scheme in 1986-7 (Chandler 1988). In 1986 there were approximately 10,900 trainees in the more populated county of Devon, whilst in rural Cornwall the figure is around the region of 2,400.

A breakdown of the labour market status of fifth year school-leavers can be seen to reflect some of the above trends, with the YTS category, both nationally and locally, being the first destination of a large number of young people. Table One represents the position at January 1987 for Devon and December 1986 for Cornwall.

Table One. The Education and Labour Market Status of Fifth Year School Leavers.

	Devon %	Cornwall %	GB %
Remaining in Education	43.4	46.4	45.3
Entering Employment	15.8	10.6	16.3 *
Entering YTS	31.3	29.9	26.7
Unemployed	3.9	4.7	11.6
Moved from the district	2.6	3.5	-
Other	2.8	4.9	-
Nos in thousands	12.6	6.1	860.0

* includes the 'other category'

Source Chandler (1988)

When entering YTS young people enter a broad range of occupational areas. As mentioned above, nationally, young people training in administrative and clerical, engineering and construction occupations amounted to almost half of the trainees. Figures for Devon show a similar trend as Table Two indicates.

Table Two. The Occupational Training Areas of YTS Trainees Nationally and in Devon 1986.

	Devon %	GB %
Clerical & Administrative	17.2	20.3
Retail, Selling and Storage	16.1	13.0
Construction and civil engineering	13.7	14.1
Health, community & personal services	10.0	11.1
Motor vehicle	8.0	7.1
Agriculture & related occupations	7.8	5.1
Mechanical engineering, metal production and processing	7.5	7.9
Catering, food preparation processing	5.7	4.8
Creative, educational & recreational services	5.6	2.0
Electrical & electronic engineering	2.9	3.9
Clothing & textile manufacture	1.6	2.4
Transport operations	1.6	1.0
Scientific	0.7	0.5
Others (including fishing, mining, non-metal processing, printing and security)	1.5	6.7
Nos	10,915	463,100

Source: Chandler (1988)

Table Three below, shows the relatively high percentage of ex-trainees in Devon and Cornwall securing employment with their work experience provider and the relatively few who, when compared with the national average, move from YTS to unemployment or onto another training scheme. However, there is still quite a large minority of young people who are unemployed at this time.

Table Three. The First Destination of YTS Leavers

	GB (a) %	Devon (b) %	Cornwall (b) %
Full-time work with same employer	30	47	42
Full-time work with different employer	28	27	23
Part-time work	3	4	5
TOTAL IN WORK	61	78	70
Unemployed	22	14	18
On another scheme	10	2	3
Full-time course	4	4	6
Something else	3	2	3

(a) April to December 1986

(b) April to September 1986

Source: Chandler (1988)

The Initial Fieldwork Stage

The research began in October 1986 and for several months which followed I reviewed the relevant literature and familiarised myself with a selection of YTS schemes in the locality. This generated a range of hypotheses, hunches and guesses. This in turn

involved many field trips which focussed on educationalists, YTS personnel, employers and managing agents, MSC officials/and YTS trainees. For example, I spent two 'days in the life' of an MSC scheme assessor which included visiting six trainees during their OJT and a follow-up visit to their work experience placements. Further research orientations were considered and rejected during the joint supervision of an undergraduate group research project 'on young people, their jobs, training and education'.

I was conscious, throughout this period of the appropriate lingual forms I needed to employ as I moved into and out of different status positions. In just one day, for example, it was not uncommon to move through several speech communities such as MSC personnel, YTS tutors, teenagers on the scheme, undergraduates, and my own colleagues at the Polytechnic. It was evident here that different ideological climates were operating in different contexts. Thus, the seeds of my theory were developing which allowed for reflexivity in my studies.

Eventually, I had to decide exactly what were my research aims and which methodological procedures I would employ in order to investigate these aims. This proved to be a difficult task due to the sheer size of the research subject, and the vast array of possible directions and emphases which could be utilised in the research brief - 'The impact of the YTS on the Transition from School to Work'.

However, during this process I was aided by three factors. First, by data derived from my own biography. Thus, just as Becker's (1951) own biography made it possible to study the occupational life of the 'jazz musician', whilst Roth (1963) could study a ward for tuberculosis patients when he was himself a patient and Polsky's (1971) career as a pool player enabled him to observe the hustler, then I too could capitalise on my non-academic self. For example, I could identify with my YTS trainees, not only, by having experienced specific working class cultural activities by 'growing up' in similar communities, but also by having been an early school leaver and participating in several of the occupations open to young people at this time. Some of these jobs were of the same type as those

offered to the trainees during their on-the-job placements, such as, the occupational groups of building, construction and catering. It is worth speculating that if the same economic climate that prevails today had existed in 1969, when I started my working life, then the 'unskilled', 'trash jobs' (Roberts 1984) that I did, would have been replaced by a YTS scheme.

Secondly my data derived from my academic background, not only the qualifications obtained during my professional career as a sociologist, but also, the experience gained whilst teaching on YTS schemes during a postgraduate certificate in education course that I undertook. Therefore, I could identify with the YTS tutors/trainers as well as the trainees. These two factors helped me during the initial fieldwork stage, (indeed, throughout the entire research) for example, my first meeting with one particular YTS official (who was later to become a key figure in allowing access to an OJT centre) prompted her to comment, jovially, that I was:

> 'one of many middle class researchers from the Polytechnic who was trying to study the real world' (field notes, 6 April 1987)

However, when we had exchanged our 'life stories', over coffee, she did agree that I had been part of her 'real world'. This information resulted in her attributing to me a kind of 'street credibility' which prompted her, not only, to give me enough latitude in the course of my research, but also, her comments on the scheme became much less guarded which allowed a richness of data to be obtained from the centre. This can be seen then as an example of how my own biography was used as a method which allowed me to gain access to a trainer's particular ideological paradigm.

The third factor which aided me was the practical activities and philosophies which make up the 'sociological imagination'. My own 'sociological imagination' was stimulated by adhering to the criteria laid down by Mills' (1959) classic exposition on 'Intellectual Craftmanship'. Thus, I kept a 'fringe thoughts file', whereby the subject under study was constantly rearranged and classified. I also placed the subject in an historical frame (as was demonstrated in Chapter Two). Questions were constantly asked such as 'how would

other sociologists see the same social phenomena that I was studying, and would they use the data that I had generated in different ways?' I sought to avoid the fetishism of method and technique and tried to use theory and method more as a craft.

Off-the-Job Training - A Triangulated Inquiry

This initial stage of fieldwork allowed for the discovery of specific problems and foci to emerge. Thus, by April 1987 my concern was directed at the mode of operation of the off-the-job training and educational curriculum of YTS and of the array of ideologies associated with it.

Thus, by a process of triangulated inquiry, I was seeking to unearth, analyse and explain the OJT curriculum. Triangulation can be defined as,

> 'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon' (Denzin, 1978, p 291)

This permits a researcher to study - in this case the 'new vocational' orientated curriculum of YTS and its associated ideologies - a phenomenon using a range of methods in order to understand as fully as possible, the area under study. In the process the reliability and validity of conclusions are enhanced as are the stages of the research process, design, data collection and analysis. Surveys therefore become the best method of obtaining information about frequency distributions, participant observation about incidents and histories and finally, interviews about institutionalized norms and statuses (Zelditch, p 134 in Bynner and Stribley (1979)). The underlying assumption being each method has its weaknesses and is effectively counter-balanced by the use of another method. However, it must be remembered that data is theory driven and it is still the case that particular research designs may only be possible using one method. Triangulation, therefore, like all methodological strategies, depends for its utility on the research topic. Thus, Sevigny (1981) combines the methods of observation and interviewing to study classroom interaction, while Becker et al (1961) used surveys and observation in studying the socialisation of medical students, as did Jick (1979) in conducting a study on the affect of a company merger

on employees. The way I intended to use the triangulated method in my research was to tap the ideologies of YTS participants.

Following Sieber (1978) fieldwork can contribute to survey analysis in six ways. First, by guiding the analysis through a theoretical structure resulting from fieldwork. Second, results from the surveys can be validated by observational experience and informant interviews. Third, reference to field notes may assist the interpretations of statistical relations. Fourth, the construction of indices for the survey is informed by fieldwork experience, whilst these indices can be externally validated by reference to fieldwork. Fifth, the illustration of statistical and historical types are supplied by fieldwork experiences. Sixthly, any puzzling survey replies can be clarified by field notes. Thus, if confusion ever arose during participant observation whether or not a YTS trainer held a holistic or needs of production ideology [see Chapter Six] then it became possible to clarify the situation by cross-checking the responses obtained during interview.

Conversely, the survey ccntributes to fieldwork in the following ways. Firstly statistical profiles gleaned from the survey become helpful in the selection of 'critical cases' for intensive fieldwork. Secondly, surveys correct any tendency in fieldwork to 'elite bias', a tendency to view an organisation (i.e. OJT curriculum) in terms of the formal and dominant definition of the respective roles and tasks of its members, in the process overlooking informal and competing definitions. Thirdly, any members who are overlooked in the process of ethnography are represented in the survey replies, albeit in a different fashion. Fourthly, survey replies offer background information which can be drawn upon by the researcher, enhancing rapport and providing a base from which to investigate responses further by either observation or intensive interviewing. Analytically, surveys can also provide a source to verify and cast new light on field observations, whilst also demonstrating the generality of single observations and correcting for the 'holistic fallacy'. Sieber defines the holistic fallacy as occurring:

> 'When the search for congruence overrides important refinements or dictates assumptions that are

> unsupported by direct evidence, and especially when striking exceptions to one's theory are subtly discounted on behalf of a unified conception.'
> (1978, p 376)

Finally, triangulation depends for its success on the fusion of methods towards the general aim of furthering understanding of a particular phenomenon. This process requires that traditional theoretical and methodological boundaries no longer remain a restraint on research, and the researchers themselves use both ingenuity and creativity in the interpretation of the data collected. Using the above criteria I decided that in order to achieve my research aims and objectives it was necessary to concentrate on two OJT centres. Therefore, over a one year period a combination of methodologies-questionnaires, participant observations and tape recorded interviews - were utilised in order to trace 150 YTS trainees and their 15 trainers/tutors as they progressed through the scheme. The prime aim being to locate, describe and analyse the ideologies of YTS participants.

The first OJT location is situated at the 'Danby Centre Ltd', which is a Managing Agency, funded by the MSC, that promotes training schemes in the Retail and Distributive Industries. The second is situated at the local Further Education College's 'Marton Annex'. In the summer of 1987, the County Council which funds the FE, handed over the role of Managing Agent over to South West Skills (SWS) which is one of four major Managing Agents run by the Council which covers the majority of occupational areas, including 'social care', 'clerical', 'catering' and 'construction' which are also included in the research. (Chapter Six discusses this in further detail).

At the beginning of this process I was concerned about how I would present myself and my research to the YTS personnel situated at the two centres. I was aware that I would need to offer something practical in return for the information they would be giving me. I suggested participating in the duty rota which involved taking control from the tutors of the trainees during the questionnaire distribution and group interviewing stages of the research. This offer was eagerly accepted by scheme staff as it allowed them a respite from the

rigours of teaching. These activities had instrumental gains also, for example, if my prime concern was to discover ideologies during the off-the-job training process then I needed to involve myself at 'grass roots' level with a new and changing curriculum, hence the donning of a YTS tutor's hat from time to time.

The Questionnaire

> 'Methodological textbooks write things like 'never write waffly questions', 'never write ambiguous questions'. They write impossible things. There is no such thing as perfection in questionnaire design, no such things as the totally and absolutely, in all times, places and circumstances, unambiguous question ... complete unambiguity is impossible because actual social situations are complex on many levels; the crucial level here concerns the nature of our language, for words and phrases, even apparently very simple and self-evident ones, can mean different things to different people in different contexts, different regions of the country, and so on.
> (Farran, 1986, p 23).

The next task after the initial fieldwork stage was to design, pilot and field a structured questionnaire to 150 YTS trainees. It could be said that this was a somewhat 'catch 22' situation, for example, the problem which faces all research is that you have to know enough about the setting to write the questionnaire, yet, if you know about this then you would not need to do the research to find out what you already knew. Obviously, in my case, this problem was somewhat remedied due to the length of time spent on the initial fieldwork stage. However, I needed to be sensitive to this problem, not because in hindsight I may have decided radically to restructure the questionnaire, but rather, as time passed and I became more familiar with the setting then I needed to accommodate new levels of subject knowledge which would aid me in the analysis of the questionnaire. (see Appendix One).

The social information generated from the questionnaire concerned six general areas. Firstly, the trainees' requirements, experiences, satisfactions and responses during their participating on the YTS. Secondly, to ascertain how useful, worthwhile and productive the scheme is as a whole - not only the conditions of

service - but in particular, how relevant is the trainees' work experience (on-the-job) training with their off-the-job training, that is, the level of integration ('goodness of fit') between the skills learnt during OJT with those learnt during on-the-job training. Thirdly, to establish the trainees' relationships and interactions with their tutors/trainers/programme assessors and 'work experience' providers. Fourthly, the guidance and support networks that the trainees encounter before and during the scheme. Fifthly, the quantity and quality of the vocational subjects taught during their OJT. Sixthly, the future aspirations of the trainees and the choices open to them. My intention here, was to utilise these six areas in an effort to establish to what degree the trainees were pro or anti YTS.

After the minor alterations to the pilot questionnaire (conducted in late August 1987) were undertaken, the amended questionnaire was fielded during late September and early October 1987. The questionnaire was 'group administered to 150 YTS trainees, with a final response rate of 150 (100%). The group administered method consisted of obtaining access to 11 YTS classroom settings with a total researcher/trainee contact time of 12 hours. This particular method of questionnaire distribution was necessary for five reasons:

First, in order to obtain a reasonable response rate which tends to be low with other methods of questionnaire distribution aimed at YTS trainees, such as the 'postal questionnaire'. Second, my presence, whilst the questionnaire was being completed meant that any basic problems of understanding and interpreting the questions was able to be overcome. Third, the YTS curriculum has an abundance of written and form filling exercises, thus the possibility of trainee apathy could be remedied by encouraging them to see the questionnaire, not as a 'test', or an 'examination', but more as an opportunity for them to give their views on the scheme. Fourth, it allowed the space to conduct a series of general participant observation exercises on trainee ideologies that would form an agenda from which to prepare for more systematic ethnographic studies to take place at a later date. Fifthly, by adhering to the above points it improved the quality of the data. It could be argued here, that the questionnaire did in fact represent a concretised official

ideological document. However, my intention was to try and tap trainee alignments with the scheme. Thus elements of official ideology needed to be included in the questionnaire.

Two methods of trainee selection were undertaken for the distribution of the questionnaire. Firstly, a stratified random sample of 100 trainees was taken out of a population of 263[1] from the SWS centre. Due to 11 trainees either constantly being absent or having left the scheme[2], then this resulted in a total of 89 trainees completing the questionnaire. However, this figure still represents a 100% response rate, simply because of the group administered method' of questionnaire completion. The second method of trainee selection consisted of a total numeration (excluding six recent starters) of 61 trainees taken from the Danby Centre. The trainees consisted of 50 males (33%) and 100 females (67%). Their ages ranged from 62 (41%) aged 16 years, 72 (48%) aged 17 years and 16 (11%) aged 18 years. Apart from one trainee being of Asian origin the remaining 149 were of white descent.

A discussion of more qualitative work is the subject of the next two sections.

Participant Observation

> 'The overt participant observer may indeed be recognised as a spy by members of the world which he studies. Scott, for example, was greeted with the cry 'Oh, Oh! Cheese it, the cops!' Again, in an ethnographic study of a town, there was a prevalent local assumption that a man behaving as the sociologist behaved could only be an agent of the F.B.I. or similar body. Similarly an examination of work practices may, quite sensibly, be regarded as an investigation conducted to serve management. However much mistrust there may be, uncertainty will always exist about the observer's significance and intentions.' (Rock, 1979, p 205)

Although I did not encounter quite as many problems, as Paul Rock describes (above) whilst conducting my own participant observation, there were a few awkward moments. For example, it was one thing for the tutors/trainers to allow a sociologist to take full control of their trainees during the questionnaire and group interview

stages of the research, but quite another matter to grant permission for me to enter their classrooms, watch them teach and to take notes of the proceedings.

When one member of staff and several trainees asked me what exactly I was writing in my field notebook, I could not give them a totally straight answer. I wrote down what I thought the staff and trainees are saying and doing. I did not think it would be beneficial to the research if I said that I was trying to locate holistic and NOP ideologies amongst YTS staff and societal ideologies on class and gender amongst the trainees. Did I want to be overt about that? What I say and do changes from overt to covert on a day to day, almost minute by minute basis. In fact, several members of staff did need reassurance that I would not report my findings to the MSC or to any other outside agency.

I could identify and sympathise with their anxieties as only several years previous, during my teaching practice, I was observed for many hours by a series of often quite formal looking people who would sit at the back of the class with a clipboard and assess my competence as a teacher.

Mainly, though, access was reasonably smooth at this stage of the research, due chiefly to three reasons. First, that from the outset the staff were acquainted with what my research activities entailed and the co-operation I expected from them during this process. Second, that I had previously participated in the duty rota, and third, I had furnished them with a report of preliminary results on the questionnaire.

The social and demographic information obtained from the questionnaire survey was used during this third stage of data collection. During the months of January and February 1988 the cohort of 126[3] questionnaire respondents (82 females and 44 males) and their 15 tutors/trainers (9 females and 6 males) were contacted again and observed in the OJT classroom and workshop settings. During this period, many hours were spent on ethnographic research

by 'hanging around' staff rooms, trainee common rooms and reception areas at the two centres.

Topics covered during this process included such things as 'scaffolding procedures', for building and construction trainees, 'office techniques' for clerical trainees, 'vegetable preparation and cooking exercises' for those young people on catering courses and an array of lessons on 'craft', 'projects', 'client-group-studies' (with supporting 'educational films' and 'guest speakers') for those trainees on retail and social care courses.

During this period I was conscious of how I would convey myself as a participant observer. How should I interact so as to acquire the necessary information? There are a variety of schemes which typify the potential role of the observer. Four basic roles are generally used to describe the degree of immersion of the observer in the natural setting. Type 1 is the complete participant, in which the researcher takes a place in the natural setting as a normal member. Interested in industrial relations a researcher may, for example, take employment as a factory worker. Difficulties of this approach lie in 'pretence problems' - can the researcher be sure that his/her behaviour is normal to the setting?, i.e. has his/her cover been broken? If I had adopted this approach during my research then there was a danger of discovering 'flawed ideologies' that were not a reasonable representation of YTS participant's philosophies. Type 2 is the observer-as-participant, an approach characteristic of one-visit interviews with informants. The problem here stems from the limited involvement of the researcher. Type 3, the complete observer, insulates the researcher entirely from social contact. It is a useful technique for reconnaissance. Type 4, the participant-as-observer was used during the present research. Thus, both researcher and members of the setting are aware of the researcher's status. This approach makes use of a range of techniques of data gathering, from informal contacts to formal interviewing.

My role during these classroom and workshop observations varied according to the social setting. When observing catering trainees, for example, I walked about the kitchens chatting to the young people as they prepared Cornish pasties and other dishes, whilst my field notes were taken both during and after each session. On the other hand, when observing trainees in the more traditional classroom settings, I would sit at a desk alongside the trainees recording my field notes continuously. Sometimes I may even contribute to the conversation, for example on one occasion several 'social care' trainees became emotionally distressed when describing their experiences with a group of handicapped clients and the tutor asked me to contribute to the discussion. Thus I experienced a 'catapulting' from the 'observer-as-participant' to the 'full participant' (Gold, 1958), whilst my fieldnotes were written up after the session.

The main problem with the participant-as-observer is the danger of the observer's move into friendship with members ('going native') and of the informants being rendered ineffective members because of their identification with the researcher. My own role as participant-as-observer, and my inclusion on the duty rota involving the performance of similar duties as YTS staff during the 'questionnaire distribution' and 'group interview' stages of the research, may call into question the quality of observation in terms of possible error and bias. This can be remedied somewhat by the 'triangulated method'[4] (discussed earlier) and also, by adhering to Lofland's (1971) seven means of evaluating the quality of observation as it is actually being conducted, and to Bruyn's (1966) six criteria after field notes are written up from each bout of fieldwork. Whilst a further remedy is Becker's (1970) 'sequential analysis', whereby analysis begins while one is still gathering data. In the periods between observation one may 'step back' from the data, so as to reflect on their possible meaning. Further data gathering is then directed to particular matters to which the observer has become sensitive by provisional analysis.

Still further observation may oblige the researcher to abandon the original hypothesis about that part of the process and check out one more consistent with the setting. Thus, hypotheses about the functioning of natural settings are gradually refined.

Considerations of fit between observations and theory also need to be considered. Such theory must be grounded (Glaser and Strauss 1968) rather than grand theory. Participant observation, therefore, generates hypotheses for further testing through the researcher's ability to apply a theoretical perspective to his/her observations and to pick up uniformities and irregularities in the data. As McCall and Simmons (1969, p 142) note:

> 'these uniformities and departures, which provide theoretical richness, are seldom manifest in the data themselves but are obtained only through carefully designed theoretical sampling and analysis based upon the researcher's frame of reference ... data are not rich in and of themselves but may be enriched by proper use of discovery techniques.'

Interviews, Informants and Accounts

> 'The way clues can be incidentally presented and skillfully interpreted can be gauged from Pfungst's investigation of Clever Hans, a horse that could apparently solve mathematical problems, spell and identify musical notes by nodding his head, tapping his feet or pointing to letters on a board. Public and experts were baffled and his master, Van Osten, a schoolmaster, made no profit from the act. Pfungst, by diligently controlling factors in the environment of the performance, found that although Clever Hans could answer even when the question was not even spoken, the questioner had to be present and seen by the horse. He noticed how tense the questioner got as the horse appeared to start to tap or point to the right answer. Pfungst now saw what all animal trainers rely on, that the horse could detect these slight involuntary clues. Pfungst even learned the trick himself so that, on all fours and blindfolded, he could answer questions from his audience without them being spoken. If a horse can detect the muscular movements as clues, man, the symbol-using animal must respond to much more than mere questions in an interview situation.' (Shipman, 1988 p 84 my emphasis)

The fourth stage of data collection took place during the months of April and May 1988. Access was again obtained, this time to 'group interview' the same cohort of trainees. During the interview period it was established that a further 32 trainees were missing as well as the 24 previously mentioned. As a result of losing 56 (37%) of the original cohort over a 10 month period, it became necessary to obtain a full account of trainee exits from the scheme. This was undertaken by requesting each OJT Centre to indicate and document the precise reasons why their trainees left the scheme. (See Appendix Two)

A series of semi-structured tape recorded interviews was undertaken with the remaining 94 trainees, consisting of 68 females and 26 males and which generated over 20,000 words. Each interview consisted of between 5 - 9 trainees and were, on average, of one hour in duration. The 94 trainees had an even number of first and second years, with a total of 21 (22%) of these being located in groups of mixed years. The breakdown of young people situated in each occupational group consisted of 40 basic trainees in retail, 22 basic trainees in social care, 14 premium trainees in catering, 10 basic trainees in office and clerical courses and 8 premium trainees on construction schemes. Thus, a total of 72 basic trainees and 22 premium trainees were interviewed.

The data generated from the previous three stages of fieldwork were used as a resource during this group interview stage. For example, the questionnaire acted as a catalyst to further discussion resulting in positive benefits being derived, in terms of focussing the discussion, by holding the participant's attention to one particular topic area. Apart from the work of Banks (1957) who uses the 'dual interview technique' and the SCPR manual number 4 which attempts to cover the complexities of in-depth and group interviewing, and highlights interview leadership skills and the importance of group homogeneity, there appears to be a scarcity of systematic texts on this area. Therefore, most of the skills and techniques I used here were by trial and error. For instance, the advice contained in the manual included such suggestions as the repeated drawing of attention to recording equipment in order to ensure that respondents speak

individually. Although I did tape-record all the group interviews, I felt that the rewards to be gained from un-selfconscious discussion far outweighed those of immaculate recording.

I was, however, aware during this process that in these situations a few of the group members may dominate the conversation, but this can be overcome by carefully encouraging responses from those trainees not so predisposed to contribute in a group situation. Therefore, I ensured that all of the group got the opportunity to say something during the first few minutes of the discussion and by having a plan with the names of those present, so as to make certain that questions were directed at those people who may be having some difficulty establishing themselves in the discussion. Using both the 'skill of silence' and by probing, I was able to request both elaboration, and in many instances be a catalyst to conversation by exposing any ambiguities which may emerge. Again, my personal biography played a crucial role here because as a lecturer I could use the progressive teaching skills I had cultivated as prompts which allowed the trainees to reveal their ideologies in an unhibited way.

Whereas the questionnaire gave me an indication of individual attitudes, the 'group discussion' provided a clear indication of collective attitudes and although some topics may be considered too personal or sensitive for group exposure - such as, 'trainee emotional upset' (questionnaire) and 'sexual discourses' (participant observation) - it was possible that because of the similar experiences of being a trainee, then the 'group interview' may encourage respondents to talk about previously unexpected feelings.

Following the trainee 'group interviews' the fifth and final stage of data collection took place. During the months of June - July 1988 a series of semi-structured tape recorded 'individual interviews' was held with the 15 tutors/trainers at both OJT centres. (See Appendix Three). The interviews generated over 30,000 words and averaged one and half hours in duration. Although during the course of my research I contacted over forty YTS trainers, these particular fifteen were interviewed in more detail because they were directly associated with the 150 trainees who form part of the overall research.

Both the group and individual interviews were used to try and tap the 'common sense constructs that scheme staff and their trainees use in order to explain their 'lived realities'. It follows therefore that an examination of their perspectives - which refer to the frameworks through which they make sense of the world is also necessary. It is through these that trainees and staff construct their realities and define situations. These perspectives are difficult to categorize on a totally satisfactory basis, as they do not exist in a vacuum. For instance when informants construct definitions they may employ 'ideological', 'cultural', 'habitual' or 'personal' definitions and draw on a range of factors in varying degrees covering their perceptions of others, their views on how others see them, and their evaluations of the situation in accordance with other people's intentions. I therefore needed to be aware of all these elements when trying to tap holistic and NOP ideologies or societal ideologies associated with gender and class etc.

Thus, as Chapter Three has shown the different ideologies of both YTS staff and trainees are by no means free from the pressures of the scheme and of the institutions and OJT centres where they participate. Therefore, when interviewing informants we cannot assume that such beliefs are necessarily a reflection of basic attitudes or that they form a platform for action. They may, rather, be a product of particular circumstances (Hammersley 1981).

It also follows from this that when informants are asked to give an account of their conduct they may offer, in mitigation, a series of socially approved vocabularies which either excuses them - thus relieving their responsibility or justifies, or neutralizes their acts and the subsequent consequences, or accounts offered may be honoured by others (Scott and Lyman 1968).

For example, when YTS staff and their trainees were asked to account for their own, and each others conduct, (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight) they may appeal to societal ideologies, such as, 'biological drives', 'scapegoating' and fatalistic forces as excuses to explain their unanticipated or untoward behaviour - whether that behaviour is the informants own or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the informants themselves or someone else. Thus, the 'biological drives' and

'scapegoating' categories can be seen as examples of how societal ideologies manifest themselves. The honouring of accounts is also important here as it will depend on the background expectations of interactants. Background expectations refer to those sets of taken-for-granted societal ideologies that permit the interactants to interpret remarks as accounts in the first place. For instance, when a tutor/trainer (Chapter Six) describes a trainee as having 'behavioural problems' which stem from the 'inappropriate attitudes of parents', then this remark will be taken as an account which will probably be honoured because 'everyone knows' that 'inappropriate parental attitudes' leads to their children having 'behavioural problems'.

The question that emerges from the above discussion, and lies at the heart of many research methods, is, 'is it possible to get at what people really think?' This implies that if sociologists can just develop shrewd enough interviewing techniques then it will lead to an objective account of reality. I too, wanted to find out what people think of, for example, teaching on YTS courses, or being a trainee on the scheme. However, embedded, in this is a simplistic notion of 'what people think'. In practice this is ever changing according to context and audience. Also embedded here seems to be the question of 'what people think', 'what people say' and 'what people do'. With this criterion in mind I did not ask myself:

> 'How do I know if the informant is telling the truth? Instead, the researcher will ask, what do the informant's statements reveal about his feelings and perceptions and what inferences can be made from them about the actual environment or events he has experienced?' (Dean and Foote Whyte, 1978 p 188)

The problem for the research was to tap societal and formalised ideologies, not the truth. For instance, YTS staff and trainees may give 'clear', 'misguided', 'inaccurate' or 'contradictory' accounts in regard to the functions of YTS, their role within this process and their orientations towards it. These accounts should not be seen as being 'right', or 'wrong', 'biased' or 'unbiased', 'true' or 'false', instead we should:

> 'treat such responses as displays of perspectives and moral forms ... in studying accounts we are studying

> displays of cultural particulars as well as displays of members' artful practices in assembling these particulars ... Interviews share with any account this involvement in moral realities. They offer a rich source of data which provide access to how people account for both their troubles and good fortune.' (Silverman 1985, pp 171-176)

As indicated in Chapter Three these accounts offered by YTS staff and trainees are influenced by societal ideologies and, by variables such as 'class', 'gender', 'race' and 'geographical location'. These variables are themselves effected by the character of the social terrain which they are a part (as discussed in Chapters Two and Three). Faced with this complex situation, if I desired to get close to an appreciation of OJT and its participants and if I wanted to interpret the construction of meanings that informants give to 'their realities', then in agreement with Woods (1983), one way of achieving this is to spend a lengthy period - a popular time span is a year - 'closely observing' and 'sympathetically interviewing' informants. The discussion in this chapter concerning the five different methods of data generation conducted over a twenty month period, helps to provide the tools for achieving this task.

Some Conclusions

There were three aims to this chapter. First to give an account of the YTS in the local area under study. That is, the city of Surfton in the Southwest region (Devon and Cornwall). Second, to demonstrate that a combination of the concept of ideology, the triangulated method, my own personal biography and the sociological imagination can be used to produce a richer account of the research topic under study. Third, to show how the use of these tools allows us to tap, not 'the truth', but how to identify any particular societal ideology. Therefore, it helps us to discover how societal ideologies originate and are manifested in an individual's social background. Thus we can locate societal ideologies through the individuals' reference to say, biological drives, parental attitudes, their gender specific roles etc. These tools enable us also, to establish the strength of an individual's alignment with the official ideology of the YTS curriculum. This means that we can make the connections between what people say and who they are and how this relates, not

just to their biographical histories, but to the social structures of wider society.

CHAPTER SIX

TRAINER AND TUTOR IDEOLOGIES AND THE YTS ENVIRONMENT

Four important themes have been covered in this thesis so far. First, the new vocationalism and the YTS have been placed in an appropriate historical social terrain. Second, the concept of 'ideology' has been developed as a suitable tool to investigate the YTS. Third, a discussion of the official YTS curriculum and its associated formalised ideologies at national and local level was also necessary in order to contextualise the scheme participants. Fourth, an explanation of the research process and the methodological tools utilized when generating data from trainees and trainers has been given.

It follows from the above that we now need to analyse these data in more detail. Therefore, this chapter will concentrate mainly on the trainers, whilst, Chapters Seven and Eight will focus on the trainees. We have already seen that the Government's and MSC/TC/TA's formalised ideology are couched in needs of production ideologies which reflect the requirements of a capitalist economy. These ideologies are then mediated through the curriculum of the YTS. The problem for the research is how do these ideologies filter down to the trainers who implement this curriculum? We need to know how these ideologies work through the trainers and are acted out in the off-the-job training arena. We also need to be aware of the affects of societal ideologies on the trainers lived experiences. Thus, do needs of production (NOP) or holistic ideologies shape the trainers philosophies and pedagogical strategies? There is a need to examine which ideology affects the trainers' common sense constructs in a social terrain that is dominated by needs of production ideologies. It follows that an examination of the trainers' ideologies helps us to understand how these individuals construct their realities and define situations.

As stated in Chapter Five from April 1987 to the summer of 1988 I traced a group of 150 YTS trainees and fifteen of their trainers/tutors, as they progressed through the Scheme using a

combination of questionnaires, participant observation, group and individual interviews. It is the data generated from this latter method which form the bulk of the information contained in this Chapter.

The Sample

The semi-structured tape-recorded interviews involved fifteen YTS staff at two off-the-job (OJT) training and educational establishments in Surfton.

It must be remembered here that the YTS is not uniform throughout. Each scheme may place more emphasis on 'social', 'training' or 'educational' aspects of the curriculum, or attention may be focussed more directly at the 'work ethic'. Scheme staff may come from a variety of industrial backgrounds bringing different orientations to the scheme. The fifteen trainers interviewed consisted of nine females and six males, two of whom were aged in their twenties, eight in their thirties, three in their forties and two in their fifties. As pointed out earlier, although during the course of my research I contacted over forty YTS trainers, these particular fifteen were interviewed in more detail because they were directly associated with the 150 trainees who form part of the overall research. The majority had previous experience of employment which related to the trainees' occupational areas. A total of six possessed either a degree or teaching certificate. The remaining nine could be said to have personal histories of a practical nature, with only a minority holding a teaching qualification such as the In-service 'Youth Trainers Award'. Over half had taught on other prevocational courses, such as the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) or the 'Youth Opportunities Programme' (YOP), whilst several had taught in schools or on traditional apprenticeship courses. In general, three trainers had fourteen to twenty five years of teaching experience, eight had three to ten years and four had less than one year. This information is important because it helps to establish how the fragmented ideologies of the trainers are socially grounded.

The YTS tutor, whilst crucial to the quality of training provided, is in a very precarious occupational position. They are mostly employed on temporary contracts which last as long as the scheme will last and this is itself uncertain with booms and slumps in the labour market and political favour or disfavour for the Scheme being somewhat volatile (Ainley and Corney, 1990). Whilst some may hold teacher training qualifications, the tendency has been to avoid the creation of a professionally qualified stratum of trainers (Davies, 1987). Consequently, there is little uniformity in the character of trainers and they carry out a low paid, highly stressful job coping with very high numbers of trainees - some of them truculent and resistant to the idea of sitting at a desk for any period of time after they have just escaped from school. In addition, their organisation - and their job with it - could be dissolved at any moment.

Before the trainers' ideologies are examined it is important to provide a formal description of the two schemes in which they work, because the different organisational structures within each scheme has important effects on the trainers' ability to act on their ideologies.

Scheme Organisation

The first scheme is situated at the 'Danby Centre Ltd.' which is a Managing Agency approved by the Training Agency to provide training schemes in the retail and distributive industries, and which offers over twenty retail outlets to trainees. The Danby Centre is responsible for 61 trainees at every level of the scheme. The five staff work as a team and their main duties include scheme advertising and recruitment, providing trainees with work experience on employers' premises (on-the-job) and catering for the off-the-job training (OJT) and educational component which takes place at the centre itself. They also act as personal assessors to the trainees which involves monitoring the quality of training, the appropriate integration between on-and-off-the-job training, the trainees' working conditions and their general welfare as they progress through the scheme.

The second OJT location is situated at the local further education college's 'Marton Annexe'. The remaining ten YTS trainers were interviewed here. Again the criterion for selection was their direct involvement with 89 of the remaining 150 trainees involved in the research. Originally the Further Education College functioned as its own Managing Agent and had the same monitoring duties as the Danby Centre. However, after the summer of 1987, the County Council which funds the college, handed the role of managing agent over to 'South West Skills' which is one of four major managing agents covering the majority of occupational areas, including 'social care', 'clerical', 'catering' and 'building and construction' and these formed the remaining occupational areas chosen for the research. This resulted in South West Skills deciding to fund the college for the off-the-job training element only, thus reducing the duties of the college staff, including the ten interviewed, considerably. Unlike in the Danby Centre they had lost control of co-ordinating the scheme. The situation was further compounded by South West Skills - which was a relatively new entity - experiencing 'teething problems' in organising, implementing and co-ordinating schemes, and by structural changes in the Scheme itself during the summer of 1988.

Two models of organisation emerged: the Danby Centre was able to maintain more regular contact and monitoring of their trainees being more comprehensively responsible for the overall organisation of the scheme itself; whilst the Marton Annexe has had its trainee contact and monitoring duties restricted - the tutor services were hired for the off-the-job training element only.

Trainer Ideologies

What emerges from the data on the trainers' ideologies is that although they may have different understandings with regard to the functions of YTS and their role within this process, it is apparent that two general ideologies do appear. Elaborating on similar models to those of Rosie (1988) these ideologies can be categorised as a 'Needs of Production Model' (NOP) and a 'Holistic Model'.

The characteristics of the NOP model consists of trainers whose approach towards training and education is didactic; thus they see their main role as equipping the trainees with the appropriate skills necessary for the needs of production. They are much more receptive towards the official purpose of the scheme and its associated normalised ideologies expounded by the MSC/TC/TA, the Government and the media.

The holistic ideology consists of a heuristic approach towards education and training, thus the trainees are encouraged to learn things for themselves - it is a more trainee-centred approach. Trainers who hold this ideology may be critical towards the general philosophy of YTS and of the new vocationalism - their views may, therefore, be subversive to the official ideology of the MSC/TC/TA. They identify wider social influences on their role within the framework of the scheme and hold a much more liberal approach towards the scheme and social life in general.

As a result of these two types of trainer ideologies it leads to two different sets of orientations towards the Scheme and their 'lived experiences' within it. The speech used by the trainers in order to describe and account for their lived experiences can be aligned with Giddens' (1976) (see Chapter Three) discussion of consciousness in which he distinguishes the unconscious from two modes of consciousness: practical consciousness and discursive consciousness. Practical consciousness is defined in terms of 'tacit stocks of knowledge which actors draw upon in the construction of social activity'. Whereas discursive consciousness involves 'knowledge which actors are able to express on the level of discourse'.

If we apply these concepts to the YTS trainers, it will be seen that those ideologies which reflect the holistic model are more likely to describe and account for their orientations by using elaborated discourses to express themselves - or in other words they use discursive consciousness. Some of the speech elements described in Cole's (1984) study of 'school teacher consciousness' can be used here as evidence of discursive consciousness. For example, holistic trainers tend to introduce abstract concepts, rather than focussing on

just particular concrete events. They tend to offer extended explanations of their observations as opposed to normative evaluations. They are also inclined to reveal scepticism and a willingness to tolerate ambiguity rather than a dogmatic certainty that tends to accompany normative evaluation. In other words they are more likely to hold subversive ideologies than those trainers who hold a NOP model.

Those trainers whose ideologies align themselves with a NOP model use a more restricted discourse and reflect much more established attitudes in orientations towards the Scheme and to society in general. Therefore, they tend to express 'taken for granted', 'common sense', 'that's the way it's done' type of perspectives. Furthermore, within the Danby Centre and the Marton Annexe both the NOP and the holistic models exist.

In general then, these two trainer ideologies were reflected in their orientations towards the Scheme, the politics surrounding the new vocationalism, their relationship with the MSC/TC/TA, Managing Agents, employers and trainees as well as in their own teaching.

Trainer Ideologies and the New Vocationalism

The trainers' general aims and objectives towards the trainees and the new vocationalism now need to be outlined in order to demonstrate more fully the characteristics of these two ideologies. If we examine the NOP ideologies and their orientations, the interview data show that they considered their main duty as being able to equip the young person with what they perceived to be the necessary social etiquette needed for the labour market.

They thus regard personal development, teamwork and confidence-building skills as essential aids to achieve this goal. The following quote is a typical example from John, a catering trainer at Marton Annexe:

> They have probably spent the last three years at school, skiving off so we have to persuade them, usually by docking their pay, that they have to come in every day and be clean and hygienic. They have to relate to other people in the class and at work.

> We've had two people this year who have been dismissed. They couldn't relate to others, they had to go eventually ... They've got to have the attitude that they've got to be responsible for their own futures and that they can't live off the government for the rest of their lives.

On the other hand, trainers who hold a holistic ideology were more likely to have aims and objectives which reflected a trainee-centred approach. They do see the importance of 'personal development skills', but they also see that many trainees have systematically 'failed' whilst at school and that trainee participation on the Scheme comes at the end of a long process rather than the beginning of a short experience.

The following comment is from Christine, a social care trainer also at Martons, who is a qualified school teacher with fourteen years teaching experience. It can be seen that she uses a 1960's style, pupil centred pedagogic ideology:

> The main objectives I feel are for these youngsters to reach their full potential. It sounds a bit high flown, but I try and give them as many opportunities to reach that potential as is possible ... they have not opened their mouths since they left junior school ... em ... in primary schools and junior schools education is very much child centred and the teacher plans the curriculum for each child. They go to secondary school on mass and I may be biased but I think that secondary schools are organised for those ten per cent of pupils who might go onto higher education. They're very much geared to GCE as it was. So the type of youngster I get has been wasted from eleven to sixteen. They come to me with great resentment, they hated school and weren't allowed any choice or say in what happened to them, they were told that they were failures. I mean the usual thing if you go around the table when they first come in and say 'tell me one thing about yourself' - they say 'thick', 'can't do it', 'stupid', all the time.

This holistic ideology can be seen also in the trainers' conceptions towards their trainees, as they tended to describe them as 'young adults' with 'separate individual needs', emphasising for some 'training' and 'educational' elements, whilst for others the focus may be on the 'social' aspect of the Scheme. NOP trainees, however, were more likely to see their trainees as 'young workers' or as 'born

carpenters or chefs' and who, therefore, needed skills in specific forms of work.

All the trainers agreed that vocational preparation courses, whether they be in or out of school, were 'here to stay'. However, those trainers who held a NOP ideology were more likely to see the state's role in regard to young people's jobs, training and education as a necessary intervention in view of the present 'economic climate', whilst holistic trainers tended to have more pessimistic views as to the state's role in this process. The following dialogues with two retail trainers, at the Danby Centre, illustrates these diverse ideologies even in the same off-the-job training setting. The first conversation is with William who holds a NOP ideology.

KP — Could you tell me what your feelings are towards vocational training and educational courses?

William — I think the state of the country means we haven't taken vocational training seriously over the years and I would make it compulsory for all young people to do some sort of training. I know that this is a political hot potato, but I would make it a law of the land that anyone leaving school at sixteen had to go into some sort of training situation for three years ... I sometimes go back perhaps twenty-five to thirty years to the time when you had to pay to get trained. My friends went into apprenticeships and earned peanuts for years and don't forget also we had the spectre of National Service ... In the old world we would accept discipline, we used to accept what our parents told us and get on with it ... We're reluctant to accept basic discipline.

KP — What do you consider to be the cause of this slip in standards?

William — I don't know. I mean it's an interesting argument ... em ... I don't know, independence perhaps, the 'why should I get out of bed and go to work' kind of attitude. Maybe we've been a bit too liberal with the social security over the last twenty or thirty years. I believe in social security but maybe the people who claim it aren't vetted closely enough, you know, maybe ... er ... or maybe people have too many children and can't discipline them.

The same initial question was put to Sally, who heads the team of retail trainers at the Danby Centre, and demonstrates a holistic ideology.

KP Could you tell me what your feelings are towards vocational training and educational courses?

Sally Well it depends what you think education is about. I mean, I don't think human beings were intended to go down into the earth and scrabble about for coal, or do all these awful jobs that people do ... Many of the teachers I meet don't think that vocational training is important. Teachers are fighting tooth and nail to keep their industry intact and they are not going to succeed, not with this present government. Because the intention now is to train youngsters as workers, I see my role as being put into a situation and try to do my best for the youngsters and try and prevent them from being abused.

... Skills training establishments should open to anybody so that if you were ten years old and wanted to learn about a computer you would go in and get specialised about that and if you were seventy years old you would go in the same day as well ... My aim would be to have a group in here of fifteen people in retailing but they would be at all sorts of levels. I find this much more rewarding and it would take care of the problems that a lot of people or staff have, with trainee behaviour.

KP If you could change anything about this process, then what would it be?

Sally Well, I suppose you're talking about YTS but my own view is that they shouldn't have such things as school anyway. I don't like segregating people and putting them into institutions from an early age - I think it's appalling, I don't like schools.

KP Do you ever express these political views to your trainees?

Sally I have never put across any political viewpoint. I've never felt that I would be happy to do so. I'm not sure how my own political bias, which is a minority one in this country, would come through. So I really don't feel justified in doing that, and in this particular area ... geographically ... the youngsters when they

> first start are extremely Conservative. I mean, they are more right of Thatcher than she is. So it's extremely difficult for me, you know, I would need about ten years of political education with them to try and change them or raise their consciousness or whatever ... Besides, I don't think you learn politics this way anyway, I mean, it comes to you through your pores - doesn't it?

It can be seen from these two dialogues that on the one hand William (NOP) is more inclined than Sally (holistic) to align himself with the many conventional, popular notions and 'moral panics' associated with the young working class unemployed (as discussed in Chapter Two). Therefore, he tends to individualise the rapid changes in the economy by focussing on the trainees and their parents. However, on the other hand Sally is much more critical of the social and political context where schooling, education and training takes place, offering her own remedies to improve this general learning environment.

Let us now examine the two ideologies as expressed within different organisational contexts - the Danby Centre and Marton Annexe.

Trainer Ideologies and Organisational Contexts

One of the major problems associated with the Scheme nationally and locally is the integration between on-the-job and off-the-job elements, which can lead to a mis-match of trainee placements (see Chapter Four). For the Danby Centre, even with its more enabling structure, this was a difficult goal to strive for and called for the improvisation upon the national programme package that they were required to adhere to because, as one trainer commented, 'the trainees and employers do not understand the obscure instructions'. However, the constraining structure of the Marton Annexe made this problem even more difficult to monitor and on occasions impossible to alleviate.

The following dialogues provide contrasting trainer ideologies on this problem. The first again is from Sally at the Danby Centre, who holds a holistic ideology.

KP In your opinion are the skills that the trainers learn on their off-the-job training integrated to their on-the-job training?

Sally There is a problem with integration. It's very difficult, I have a view that when the trainees are here with us at the centre then they are not being abused at their work experience placements, or that being here helps to compensate for some of the integration problems ... In a way I see off-the-job as a safeguard for the youngsters, although that's not how others see it obviously.

KP The MSC do spend a lot of money on the Scheme, so why do you think these integration and general scheme problems still exist?

Sally I think really because the MSC has failed as the quango that they are. They've failed to control it ... to organise it properly. Their attitude from the beginning is 'of well you do it and we'll tell you if it's right'. They don't know what they want so they are hoping that you will actually tell them. Anyone who comes up with an idea they think 'oh yes that fits in nicely so we'll fund that and we'll see in the end if it's any good'. Meanwhile all these little guinea pigs (trainees) have been on that course or on the receiving end.

This comment by Sally illustrates that when the formalised ideologies of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA becomes official through their policy initiatives, it does not mean that their philosophies have been sympathetically worked through, rather, the delivery of the YTS is often a rush and a shambles. (See Chapter Two).

The same initial question was now put to Peter who teaches at the Marton Annexe on the 'Building and Construction' course and whose views reflect the general position of NOP trainers.

KP In your opinion are the skills that the trainees learn on their off-the-job training integrated to their on-the-job training?

Peter No.

KP Why not?

Peter — Well we've had a lot of mixed students in the way of trades, and ... er ... well a lot of them shouldn't be on this course. For example, we have painting and decorating trainees, when this is a building and construction course, so how could anyone possibly say that this is integrated?

KP — South West Skills has placed these trainees with you?

Peter — Oh yes, but it's just the case of keeping them occupied ... I think, I could be wrong, it's only my opinion. I mean we had one girl who wanted to do just bricklaying and she left after ten weeks because we simply weren't covering aspects of the course she needed to learn. It's rather like taking somebody who wants to be a violinist and train them to play a trombone or something, it's quite ridiculous.

KP — Do you see these lack of integration problems as being due to the management of South West Skills?

Peter — Well .. (laughs) .. with a new entity they're just getting their act together, or trying to. Before South West Skills took over, Marton's were a very good system, they had the training where the whole system operated around the student. I think the MA's (managing agents) go out and sell 'X' number of students with ... to me ... not very much thought and put them into various occupations and I think before the students decide on an occupation you should spend a lot more time talking to the students and discover what their background is in order so that they can make a better choice.

It can be seen that Sally has a holistic ideology towards scheme organisational problems and expresses herself in a discursive consciousness mode. For example, she sees off-the-job training as providing the trainees with a safety-net which will compensate for the scheme problems associated with the work-experience placement. Further discussions with, and observations of, Sally demonstrated that she not only sees the value of off-the-job training as providing the trainees with the opportunity of studying for vocational certificates but she had also worked at winning the space within the formal framework of off-the-job training which reflected her holistic ideologies and orientations. However, Peter can be seen to reflect his NOP ideology with the appropriate practical consciousness mode of

expression. Although he identifies the same scheme organisational problems as Sally, his main concern is that these problems interfere with his role of equipping the trainees with the skills necessary for the labour market. Like Sally, Peter - indeed all fifteen trainers had re-defined their formal roles - at grassroot levels which gave them different levels of relative autonomy which in turn reflected the appropriate holistic or NOP paradigms. These roles had been somewhat compounded for the ten Marton staff because, due to the South West Skills taking over the role of Managing Agents, it had resulted in the space provided for this relative autonomy being restricted.

This situation helps us to see here that the space won by the trainers shows that hegemony is always contested. Teachers, as intellectuals, do not always wish to exercise, in Gramsci's terms 'the subaltern functions of social hegemony' (p89 in Barton et al, 1980). The trainers in this study therefore, have contested the official ideology of YTS and have worked at winning the space that will allow them to put into force their own pedagogical strategies.

However, the space that all the trainers had won was often done for different reasons depending on the particular ideologies that they had. The participant observation aspect of the research serves to illustrate this point. A selection of trainers and their trainees were observed in their off-the-job classrooms and workshop settings. Although often reflecting traditional school environments, many of these sessions consisted of a much more relaxed atmosphere. At times they took on the appearances of a 'youth club' where trainee activity was often boisterous and centred around bopping to music, sexual flirtations, and horseplay. Male trainees would often swagger around the room, macho style, whilst the different dress, style and demeanour between the two sexes would be quite prominent. During this process trainee talk tended to centre around sexual activities, courtship and marriage, family and friends, going to the pub or music and fashion. (See Chapters Seven and Eight for a full discussion of this).

The trainers' activity in these settings would often reflect the survival strategies described by Woods' (1983) study of school teachers. Such strategies as 'negotiation' (you play ball with me and I'll play ball with you), 'fraternization' (if you can't beat them, join them) or 'humour' and 'jokes' would often be employed.

When asked to account for these trainee activities a typical feeling amongst holistic trainers was reflected by Pam at the Danby Centre:

> ... when we first started we had arm chairs, now we have desks and chairs, so it's a bit more formal but we do try to keep the youth club atmosphere ... Most youngsters who come to YTS have had enough of school, they don't want to stay on and take further qualifications, not necessarily because they're not 'bright' because they are 'bright', they just hated school and being identified with those sorts of controls really ... The music is a great help and when they do talk about 'marriage', 'courtship' and 'going to the pub' well it allows them to relax from the work experience.

NOP trainers see this process in a very different light, as Emily, a clerical trainer from Martons demonstrates:

> The fact that they talk while they are working, well that is part of our policy, because if you're at work you talk to your mates about what you did last night, what you saw on television, etc. It's got to be controlled though, it depends on what the trainees are doing ... I try to be, in a way an office supervisor, rather than a teacher. Our job really isn't teaching. I mean you can't have them doing a knees up in the middle of the room anymore than you could have them talking when they should be learning, but that is another part of their training. They have to learn when they can do these things.

The point here is that for holistic trainers (as indicated earlier by Sally) these 'youth club' orientated sessions can be seen, in the main, as an arena whereby the trainees are able to forget their previous experiences of school whilst at the same time allowing them to 're-charge their batteries' after the rigours of their work-experience placements. NOP trainers, however, tended to see this process as mirroring some of the activities associated with the workplace, with their own role reflecting that of a works' supervisor.

Even on occasions when NOP trainers were more critical of the Scheme (as Peter indicated earlier) the reason tended to be because the targets of their criticisms interfered with their NOP ideologies and orientations. This can be demonstrated further by focussing on one such criticism - the profiling process. This is a report which logs the trainees' progress during their participation on the Scheme. The following dialogues are with three trainers: Christine (Social Care - holistic), Peter (Building and Construction - NOP) and William (Retail - NOP).

KP Profiling is a central part of YTS schemes. What are your general feelings about it?

Christine Well ... I try and look at them every week that they are in, but the great difficulty with formal profiles are that you miss a lot of things. These youngsters are able and er ... er ... crafty enough and worldly wise, street wise ... enough not to put it in writing what they feel and very often on my assessment sheets they have to write what they feel and they say 'what shall I write Christine' and I say 'if you want to write a load of crap then write it - you can say what you like'.

... and I leave them alone to write it on their own and I don't get that, even from a youngster that I know would like to write 'this is a load of crap'. I get 'I have enjoyed the course very much' .. (laughs). So anything in writing they don't want to know. My attitude towards written profiles reads slightly different to Managing Agents or other lecturers that you meet. I find very little value in writing ... everybody wants things in writing, everybody wants proof. Now I don't want proof of a youngsters work, it's in my brain and their brain, it's in their emotions and you know, it's abstract.

... I mean what I assess on is their opinions, there, when we sit together, one to one for assessment, well it's a very artificial situation, obviously, because they're called in one by one, I try and do it as informally as possible but I can't do it all the time. I want to see them, how they grow, how they would cope in a particular situation, that to me is a profile.

Peter (NOP) offered the following response to the same initial question:

Peter

> Well I'm not sure about the log books, I wonder how many employers will say ' oh we must have a look at your log book and see what's written down in there', but when it boils down to it, it boils down to whether or not they can do the job. I mean, they may start a job on say a three month trial and if they can do it then it doesn't matter what their blinking log book says, if they can do it, if they can produce good work then you've got a job.
>
> ... I mean, one of the things on the profiles is that you don't put anything negative, it all has to be positive. Well to me this is a misguided way of trying to boost them, but it doesn't because profiles are a con. I'll tell them verbally that they've done a job wrong ... er ... building a wall or whatever, I'll say 'that is crap' and they'll appreciate that. Also when they've done a good job you say 'that's bloody good, you've done a bloody good job'.

Whilst William, also NOP, suggests that:

> profiling is a good idea but I think we've gone over the top with all the recording systems now ... we seem to do profiling and ... em ... listing and writing and things like that for listing and profiling sake now ... it's, I mean, if you've got a person in a placement who is doing well and who is obviously improving and is happy, but is very reluctant to fill his/her log book as you want them to do, well what decision do you make? ... I'd be very reluctant to boot anyone off the Scheme who didn't write their reports or fill in a personal effectiveness report enough ... we tend to do things two or three times. I think, for instance, the leaving certificate is a bit crazy. You can be a brain surgeon and get one piece of paper and be on YTS and get the story of your life almost, I mean, it's crazy.

What the above dialogues show is that on the one hand it can be seen that Christine is wary of attaching too much importance towards profiles being used as proof of a trainee's progress on the Scheme. Other methods of measuring a trainee's ability must also be employed. For example, she sees the actual 'sitting down process' involved in profiling as being more beneficial for the trainee as it provides an arena which allows for a healthy discussion to take place between trainer and trainee. She is critical of the official purpose of a profile but remedies this tension by adopting an heuristic approach towards her trainees which allows for both parties to negotiate accepted levels of assessment. Furthermore, Christine's holistic approach enables her to appreciate the affects on the trainees of wider social influences.

On the other hand both Peter and William are critical of profiles too but for different reasons. For example, Peter describes profiles as being a 'con', and suggests that verbal information is more important in assessing a trainee's progress than the written word, whilst William sees the amount of paperwork involved as 'crazy' and 'over the top'. However, these comments are a reflection of the NOP ideology because the targets of their criticisms - profiles and paperwork - are seen as obstacles which restrict or interfere with what they consider to be their prime duty, which is to equip the trainee for the labour market and the needs of production.

It must be stressed here that trainer adherence to either the NOP or holistic ideology is not a rigid exercise - indeed, the generation of categories for any social data is a difficult process. The NOP and holistic ideologies do not exist in a vacuum as they are related to an array of societal ideologies and wider societal structures, including the characteristics of the social terrain. (As previous chapters have shown). Therefore, the ideologies and 'common sense' discourses of trainers are grounded in the context of these conditions. Furthermore, when the trainers construct definitions they may be influenced by a range of factors within this social terrain. They could, for instance, employ 'cultural' definitions that is, ones derived from their class, social background and status group in a particular geographical context. They could also employ 'habitual' definitions - ones derived from popular ideologies and the mass media. Finally they could also employ 'personal' definitions - ones derived from direct general experience which is to some extent unique. Their views are shaped not just by the way they see themselves but also by the way they think others perceive them and the way in which they attempt to conform to their perceived external normative standards. Thus, the different ideologies of the trainers are by no means free from the pressures of social institutions societal ideologies or the organisation of particular off-the-job training centres.

Personal biography also plays a part, in socially grounding trainer ideologies for example, the data obtained from my own research, although not permitting large scale generalisations due to

the small number of informants, does in fact reflect many of the elements found in Williamson's (1982) study. (Discussed in Chapter three). In particular, cases of the more discursively conscious trainers (holistic) that I interviewed, in almost every instance, had participated in either degree studies - a PGCE, Cert.Ed or further education course - or had supervised young people in many different social settings. Therefore, these variables seem to be major factors with the holistic ideology. The needs of production (NOP) ideology can also be grounded in the trainers' social backgrounds. For example, these trainers - in every case - were from industrial backgrounds and had not participated in any form of higher education or teacher training course. Therefore, we can deduce that those trainers who have been in contact with academia and the caring professions (holistic) are more likely to be broad minded and willing to adapt their views than NOP trainers.

Dealing with Individual Trainee Problems

Let us now examine one specific area where the trainers have been forced to create the appropriate space within the formal structure of OJT in order to accommodate trainee difficulties that they encounter. The official duties expected of YTS staff do require a certain amount of time being spent on the 'guidance', 'counselling' and 'general welfare' of trainees as they progress through the Scheme.

However, all fifteen trainers (and many more who were not systematically interviewed) suggested that they needed to devote 25 per cent of their time, effort and energies in dealing with 'individual trainee problems' which far exceeded their official duties. These extra curricula activities and how the trainers coped with them were part of their 'lived experiences', and they became routinised events in their day-to-day working lives. Furthermore, all the trainers claimed that the MSC/TC/TA would not 'take on board' these issues and did not recognise them as part of the formal curriculum of the Scheme. Indeed, this can already be deduced from Chapter Four.

Again, as mentioned earlier, the formalised ideologies of the MSC/TC/TA which become official ideologies through the medium of the YTS curriculum, is a further example of an ill-thought out pedagogy. This situation then, results in a clash of ideologies between, on the one side, the NOP and holistic ideologies and on the other, the formalised ideologies. However, despite all the trainers expressing somewhat subversive ideologies, their accounts of the individual trainee problems that they come upon, does in fact, reflect their particular holistic or NOP philosophies, as the following dialogues illustrates.

The trainers encountered a vast array of individual trainee troubles, including emotional problems, family break-ups, homelessness, courtship difficulties, pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and so on. The majority of trainers regarded the regular occurrence of these problems as a new phenomena in the late 1970s and 1980s. In order to deal with these difficulties the trainers described themselves as having to perform the role of a series of professionals, thus donning the hats of not only a trainer/teacher but also of amateur 'social worker', 'welfare officer', marriage guidance counsellors', 'youth and community worker' a 'policeperson' or more informally as a friendly Aunt/Uncle or a 'mother confessor'.

The following dialogues are with Sue (clerical) who holds a NOP perspective. This is followed by Simon (Building and Construction) whose comments illustrate fully many of the most important characteristics of the holistic ideology.

KP Can you tell me what your feelings are towards the individual trainee problems that you encounter?

Sue Oh yes, oh yes .. (sighs .. laughs) .. well sixteen and seventeen is a very funny age. I deal mainly with girls here. They (the trainees) are either 'right up there' or 'right down there' in terms of their emotions. We seem to come across youngsters who don't seem to develop the right relationships with their parents. I'm not saying that it's totally the youngsters fault because their parents are not educated enough ... well to deal with those youngsters ... So it's usually a crisis at home. It seems

nowadays that it is easier for young people to just leave home. Things are made easier for them so they leave and then they get problems which stem from that as well.

KP What do you think causes these individual trainee problems?

Sue I've got a feeling that a lot of these problems do stem from unemployment, but I feel that a lot of them stem from trainees' parents. I don't feel that the parents assist young people in standing on their own two feet these days. Over the years we've become conditioned to expect a lot of things to be done for us ... it's like kindly 'big brother', all these social service agencies. Therefore, the parents have stopped thinking things like 'now what can we do to get out of this situation'. They resent being in a situation and they say 'what is the Government going to do about it, what are 'they' going to do' and this attitude communicates itself to the young people. Parents often think that they have a wonderful child and it wasn't their child's fault that, say, they were kicked out of their work-experience placement or whatever.

It can be seen here that Sue holds several societal ideological assumptions about gender, family background and the role of the social services.

Simon (holistic) offered the following comment to the same initial question:

... well ... we deal with social problems from little things like the guy who is just unhygienic to the lad who has been battered by his parents, incest, or they will tell you quite openly about having babies and having abortions ... Actually coming into that environment I found it really, really, not difficult, but staggering. The amount of youngsters who were out there having these problems.
Now of course I've come across vast other problems. I was amazed at the attitude problems and of the amount of kids who went to see psychiatrists because of their behavioural problems. I mean I was not prepared at all I was just, well you know - you learn very quickly you are chucked in at the deep end. You think 'Oh I'll teach these youngsters how to do painting and decorating' and you end up having to do a whole different training routine.
... the thing I've learnt about teaching especially with the premium trainees is that you've got to break down things and be very, very patient and let them discover things for themselves ... don't be afraid to

let the youngster make the mistake because that's the way they learn.
... One of the biggest problems with premiums, well basics as well, is their low self-esteem. They've been told in their school and home environments that they're stupid, that they've not capable of doing a job of work. So what I've got to do is build those bricks up and say 'look, you are capable'. Out there in society they're being told, say on the telly, all types of media, they're being told that if you come from a particular background then you are going to be stupid. Not in their consciousness, but subconsciously it's going on all the time, they are being battered and battered down and what our job is is to build them up.

KP What do you think causes these individual trainee problems?

Simon I think its definitely a social problem. You go back to the family of youngsters and you'll see that often the parents are also from a bad family environment. So its just a vicious circle.

On the one hand the reasons offered by Sue (NOP) in order to explain these individual trainee problems, are in terms of individual pathology. She implies that the main factor which affects the trainees' present and future prospects are their own or their parent's attitudes. She tends to look for individual remedies to problems - by changing the attitudes of trainees and helping them to conform to society. Thus, she tends to reflect similar personal and pathological ideologies as the school teachers in Chessum's (1980) study (see Chapter Three). Sue's comments do little to alleviate the oppression of these young women, as she aligns herself with gender ideologies [discussed in Chapter Four] which do not challenge the institutionalised nature of female inequality. In this sense, like her trainees [see Chapter Eight] she aids and abets the continuance of women's inequalities. On the other hand Simon (holistic) sees a trainee's class, home and school background as important factors which may cause these problems to occur - he sees the main problem as one of social deprivation. The young person's attitudes, rather than being a problem themselves, are seen as a fatalistic adaption to deprived social circumstances. He sees his role as compensating for economic and social oppression located externally to the classroom.

Therefore, Simon locates individual trainee problems in the context of wider social structures.

Some Conclusions

Five main points emerge from this chapter. First, that two key models of trainer ideologies - the 'Needs of Production' (NOP) and 'Holistic' - have been identified. These ideologies are derived from the trainers' social backgrounds and take place within specific societal institutions. Whilst all trainees may be critical of aspects of the Scheme the holistic ideology could be seen as forming part of an ideology subversive to the formalised ideologies that are concretised in the YTS curriculum and youth policy initiatives in general. What this thesis shows therefore, is that youth policy initiatives, do take a specific form at a specific time because they serve the needs of capitalist production. If those needs change then the form of provision changes. However, elements of this official policy are resisted by the trainers, many of whom see a conflict over state policies and their lived experiences at grass-roots level.

Second, not only do the trainers experience different degrees of scheme complications, depending on the different organisational structure of each off-the-job training establishment, but they have resisted the formalised ideology expressed in the official curriculum of the YTS. This has then allowed them to develop pedagogical strategies which has won them space within this formal framework. In this sense, the desired intentions of those individuals with power - the policy makers - does not always match the outcomes.

Third, this unofficial space has been won for two reasons. On the one hand all the trainers have created their own autonomy in order to remedy or cope with the deficiencies associated with the formal framework - such as lack of integration between the on- and off-the-job training element. However, this autonomy has been won for different purposes reflecting either the NOP or holistic ideology. This is also the case when the trainers account for the problems associated with any 'space impingement' as occurred due to the South West Skills takeover at the Marton Annex resulting in the curtailment of staff duties.

It must be stressed here that formalised and societal ideologies are not acts of imposition. They are produced by concrete actors and embodied in lived experiences that may resist, alter, or mediate these social messages. Yet, this chapter has shown that NOP trainers are more likely than holistic trainers to reproduce features of the ideological hegemony associated with the formalised ideology of youth policy initiatives and the societal ideologies of wider society.

Fourth, the trainers have also been forced to create additional space within the formal framework which will allow them to cater for issues which are outside this official curriculum - such as 25 per cent of their time being spent on individual trainee problems. The fifth point is that the research suggests that although these individual trainee problems may be variously described by the trainers as 'pathological' (in the case of NOP trainers) or 'social' (in the case of holistic trainers) they all see them as being on the increase in the late 1970s and 1980s.

However, we can question whether this is the case; in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s the social terrain where young people's jobs, training and education took place was different in character and there was not space to allow young people to discuss their lived experiences with adult trainers on a systematic basis. The issues raised in discussions between trainers and trainees should perhaps not be seen so much as 'problems' but rather this should be seen as an 'arena of confession' which has allowed young people to talk about their life histories and the social influences affecting them. What can be seen to have taken place is that over a period of one or two years the trainees have exposed their trainers to the 'rawness' of working class life with all its ups and downs, its restricted life chances in gaining society's rewards. These are not necessarily seen as problems by trainees, they could be seen as accounts of what it is like to be growing up working class in the late 1980s.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IDEOLOGIES AND TRAINEE ALIGNMENTS WITH YTS AND THE NEW VOCATIONALISM

So far the ideologies and discourses of training have been described from the point of view of the way they are officially shaped and transmitted and from the point of view of the trainers. Now their interpretation by trainees will be considered.

As stated in Chapter Five, research on the trainees was carried out using a combination of methodologies. A sample survey of 150 trainees completed questionnaires, were observed in their off-the-job classroom workshop settings, followed by a series of 'group interviews'. Through using a combination of these methodologies objective parameters, attitudes and cultural meanings can be better explored as they interrelate with one another.

The trainees were selected from five 'occupational groups', which for reasons of brevity, have been shortened to the following: clerical, retail, social care, catering and construction. These groups were chosen because they are popular training schemes in the geographical area providing a cross-section of male and female basic and premium funded trainees and a range of occupational training of contrasting types. Table One gives a breakdown of sex, funding categories and occupational groups of the trainees in the two OJT centres.

The table shows that 41 per cent of the sample were selected from the Danby Centre and were all retail trainees on basic funding. Trainees on social care (23 per cent) and clerical (10 per cent) were also on basic funding, but were selected from the Marton Centre. Trainees placed within the occupational groups of construction (12 per cent) and catering (14 per cent) were premium funded and were again selected from the Marton Centre. Therefore a total of 74 per cent of trainees were on basic funding and 26 per cent were premium funded.

Although these five categories were generated by the official MSC/TC/TA classifications and were intended as a purely technical

Table One: The Occupational Groups, Sex and Basic/Premium Funded Scheme Placements of 150 YTS trainees at two OJT Centres

Occupational Groups and OJT Centre	Funding							
	Basic		Premium		Male		Female	
	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=
Retail, Selling & Storage (Danby Centre)	41	(61)			13	(20)	28	(41)
Social Care, Health, Community & Personal Services (Marton Centre)	23	(35)			-	-	23	(35)
Catering, Food Preparation & Processing (Marton Centre)			14	(21)	8	(12)	6	(9)
Construction & Civil Engineering (Marton Centre)			12	(18)	12	(18)		
Clerical & Administration (Marton Centre)	10	(15)			-	-	10	(15)
Totals	74%	(111)	26%	(39)	33%	(50)	67%	(100)

classification of skills, in practice, they are reinterpreted in terms of the cultural meanings, social class, gender and societal ideologies already existing. Hence, 'training' from being a technical requirement is infused with ideologies in the way in which it is interpreted and carried out. In this way it serves to reproduce class and gender divisions even when it is attempting to develop 'fair' and 'neutral' technical skills.

In the next two chapters I will explain this. First, a consideration of the different characteristics of these occupational groups and of the trainees in them needs to be discussed. Let us begin by highlighting several variables which direct young people into

specific vocational trajectories, that is, their placement into a particular occupational group.

Background Influences on Trainee Vocational Trajectories

Both sexes, are socialized from a very early age and through a variety of agencies into principles of gender differences which are reflected in the subjects they study, the informal groups they associate with and in their general interactions. Thus, this socialization process is one variable which filters young people into gender specific vocational trajectories.

As pointed out in Chapter Four a 'two track' system of training exists both at the national and local level which reflects traditional gender specific occupations. It follows therefore, that this situation is also reflected in the research. For example, Table 1 shows that the fifty trainees who were placed on the social care and clerical courses were all female, whilst the eighteen on the construction course were all male. The remaining occupational groups of retail and catering also reflect gender specific patterns with a large majority of females on the retail course and fairly even numbers of sexes on the catering scheme. Thus, these gender specific occupational groups act as filtering mechanisms which in tum place each sex into gender specific labour market jobs.

Furthermore, as the previous chapters have shown, trainee participation on the scheme is overwhelmingly working class and this also influences the vocational trajectories of individuals. This filtering process takes place amongst the different strata within the working class, for example, those individuals who experience limited upward social mobility are more likely then those young people in the less socially mobile strata to hold more academic qualifications and have greater family stability and support networks.

The trainees' 'family background' is important because this variable also influences his/her vocational trajectory. A total of 42.4 per cent of trainee parents (or guardians) were both in paid employment, whilst 58 per cent consisted of just one parent (male) being in work outside the home and the female parent remaining

within the household. The following significant findings at the .05 per cent level which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared-Test were found when comparing the parents of 'premium funded' trainees with those of 'basic funded' trainees. The parents of the premium funded trainees tend to be situated within the lower strata of the working class, thus they have limited social mobility, compared to the parents of basic funded trainees. Thus, it was found that although the majority of trainees in the sample had parents in 'manual work' a total of 31.1 per cent of basic funded trainee fathers and 25.2 per cent of their mothers were in non-manual occupations, whilst only 2.6 per cent of 'premium funded' trainee fathers and 5.1 per cent of their mothers were working in non-manual occupations. Furthermore, the mothers of premium funded trainees are more likely than those of basic funded trainees to be in 'part-time work', whilst, more significantly, 12.8 per cent of premium funded trainee parents compared to only 1.8 per cent of the parents of basic funded trainees were both unemployed.

We can deduce from the above that the families of premium funded trainees are much less economically stable than the families of basic funded trainees.

The research sought to tap trainee parental ideologies towards their offsprings' vocational trajectories. For example, in answer to the question 'What did your parents (or guardians) want you to do after you left school?'. Table Two below, shows that a total of 50.7 per cent of trainees stated 'a job', 18.7 per cent stated 'YTS', whilst 15.3 per cent suggested that their parents wanted them to enter 'further education'. A further 14 per cent claimed that their parents 'did not mind what they did'.

Table Two: What did your parents (or guardians) want you to do after you left School?

	%	n-
A Job	50.7	76
YTS	18.7	28
Further Education	15.3	23
Unemployment	-	-
Did not mind	14	21
Missing data	1.3	2
Totals	100	150

Obviously, the reality for these trainees is that their first destinations on leaving school was to enter the YTS. Following detailed analysis the survey did not reveal any significant relationships between the attitudes of trainee parents and the trainees 'gender', and 'occupational group'. However, two significant results were found at the .05 per cent level which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared-Test. These findings show that societal ideologies associated with 'class' and 'gender' are expressed by trainee parents which influence their offspring's vocational trajectories before they enter the scheme.

For example, a total of 67.3 per cent of male trainee parents compared with 42 per cent of the parents of female trainees wanted their offspring to enter 'a job' on leaving school, thus emphasising the 'male breadwinner' stereotypical role and the security status and rewards that a job can bring. Furthermore, 18.9 per cent of parents of basic funded trainees - in the occupational groups of retail clerical and social care - compared to only 5.1 per cent of the premium funded trainees parents in the occupational groups of construction and catering, would have liked their children to have entered the 'Further Education' trajectory on leaving school. Therefore, the parents of basic funded trainees are more likely than those of premium funded trainees to see the value (however limited) of education and the scope for upward social mobility that it may bring. These findings add to our knowledge of previous studies of parental attitudes towards their childrens careers because they indicate subtle

differences within the lower sectors of the working class. (see Veness 1962, West & Newton 1983).

A further variable which influences the vocational trajectory and places young people onto specific occupational groups is the 'educational qualifications' that they have obtained whilst at school. As pointed out earlier, trainee participation on YTS is overwhelmingly working class. Therefore, it is not surprising to discover that only 16.8 per cent of the total sample had obtained one or more 'O' level passes with a grade C or higher, or CSE grade '1'. A further 15.3 per cent had obtained an 'O' level pass with a grade '2' or below. Further qualification breakdown reveals several general patterns, for example, more females than males had 'O' levels at grade 'C' or higher, more 'O' levels with grades below 'C' and more CSE passes of grade '2' or below.

However, the following significant findings at the .05 per cent level which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared-Test were found by comparing the examination passes of trainees within the different occupational groups and within the basic and premium funded categories. Table Three for example, shows that trainees in the occupational groups of clerical, retail and social care have obtained many more educational qualifications compared to those young people on catering and construction schemes.

Table Three: Educational Qualifications of YTS Trainees within each Occupational Group

Occupational Group	Between 1-5 'O' levels, grade 'C' or above & CSE grade 1	Between 1-4 'O' levels below grade 'C'	Between 1-8 CSE grade 2 or below	Registered for a vocational qualification whilst on YTS	n = 150
Clerical	46.7%	26.7%	100.0%	93.3%	15
Retail	16.3%	16.4%	67.2%	90.2%	61
Social Care	14.3%	11.5%	60.2%	91.4%	35
Catering	9.6%	-	52.4%	76.2%	21
Construction	-	-	39.0%	38.9%	18

This applies right across the qualification spectrum. For example, not one construction trainee had obtained any 'high' or 'low' grade 'O' levels and only 9.6 per cent of caterers had such a qualification. However, 73.4 per cent of clerical, 32.7 per cent of retail and 25.8 per cent of social care trainees had obtained 'O' levels at various levels.

A similar pattern emerges with CSE qualifications. A total of 100 per cent of clerical, 67.2 per cent of retail and 60.2 per cent of social care trainees had obtained this qualification, compared to 52.4 per cent of catering and only 39 per cent of construction trainees. Table Three, also shows that even when trainees are placed on the scheme the chances of clerical, retail and social care trainees being registered to study for any form of vocational qualification is much greater than trainees in the catering and construction groups.

These findings can be illustrated further by reducing the five 'occupational group' variables into just two variables - 'basic and premium' funded trainees. Thus, clerical, retail and social care are basic funded trainees whilst catering and construction trainees are

premium funded. The crosstabulation of these two variables leads to the following findings at the .05 per cent significant level all of which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared-Test. Table Four, for example, illustrates similar trends as Table Three. It shows that 36.9 per cent of basic funded trainees obtained 'high' and 'low' grade 'O' levels, whilst only 5.2 per cent of premium funded trainees obtained such qualifications. Similar patterns exist in regard to CSE attainment, for example, 69.3 per cent of basic funded trainees obtained CSEs, compared to 46.2 per cent of premium funded trainees. Table Four also shows that the chances of a YTS trainee being registered to study for a vocational qualification are greater for basic funded trainees (91 per cent) than for premium funded trainees (59 per cent).

Table Four: Educational Qualifications of YTS Trainees on Basic and Premium Funding

	Between 1-5 'O' levels, grade 'C' or above & CSE grade 1	Between 1-4 'O' levels below grade 'C'	Between 1-8 CSE grade 2 or below	Registered for a vocational qualification whilst on YTS	n = 150
Funding Category					
BASIC	20.7%	16.2%	69.3%	91.0%	111
PREMIUM	5.2%	-	46.2%	59.0%	39

Societal ideologies associated with the socialization process, gender specific roles, working class culture, trainee family backgrounds and trainee educational qualifications are manifested in the values and opinions of careers personnel who screen young people for scheme suitability. Therefore, careers personnel can be seen as a further variable that filters young people into particular vocational trajectories within the YTS.

Nationally the careers service recruit the majority of individuals onto the scheme. This is also the finding of the research, as 68.7 per cent of trainees stated that the 'careers service' or 'career lessons' whilst at school, influenced their decisions to join the scheme. The majority of trainees (60 per cent) stated also, that during their careers interview they were given a 'selection of schemes to choose from'. Yet a substantial amount, 31.3 per cent claimed that 'no choice' was open to them. This occurred despite the fact that 94 per cent said they had had an interview with either the 'careers service' or 'managing agent' before starting on the scheme.

Significant results at the appropriate critical value were found when comparing the influence of 'careers personnel' with 'basic and premium funded' trainees. For example, 20.7 per cent of the 'careers school teachers' of basic funded trainees, compared to 2.6 per cent of teachers of premium funded trainees had suggested the YTS to their pupils.

Furthermore, despite 78 per cent of trainees claiming that the scheme they eventually got was 'the one they wanted' the 12.7 per cent of trainees who claimed that the scheme 'was not the one they wanted', were in fact all premium funded trainees. These findings show that premium funded trainees, who tend to be from 'socially deprived backgrounds', are often neglected by their careers teachers during the scheme allocation process, thus they are more likely than basic funded trainees to be placed on 'menial' schemes, or 'pressured' onto such schemes. For example, although the vast majority of trainees claimed that 'no pressure' was put on them to accept a particular scheme the 6.7 per cent who stated that they 'were under pressure', were again, all premium funded trainees.

We can deduce that the careers personnel, in effect, screens prospective YTS entrants for social advantages (however limited). Thus, from this perspective, they act as 'gate keepers' of cultural and social reproduction. (Bates 1989).

Although the structure of the youth market is the most important variable in determining a trainee's labour and life chances, these research findings are important also, because practical and ideological processes associated with factors such as, socialisation, gender, family background, education qualifications and careers personnel, are all influential variables which divert large sections of working class young people into a segmented scheme which reflects a segmented labour market. Thus, these ideological elements lead to the continuance of cultural and social reproduction. The next section will examine trainee ideologies when they are actually on the scheme. Therefore, we need to establish to what extent (if any) the official YTS curriculum and its formalised ideological packaging actually influence trainee opinions and values towards the scheme and the new vocationalism in general. The first area we will focus on involves the problems of integration between on-and-off-the-job training. This area has been chosen because the 'quality' of each particular occupational group reflects the strength of trainee alignments towards the official curriculum of YTS.

Trainee Responses and the Problems of Integration between On-and-Off-the-Job Training

As discussed in Chapter Six the integration between on-and-off-the-job-training is seen as problematic by YTS trainers and falls below the standards set by the MSC/TC/TA. Many trainees do experience 'wild placements' or mismatches and their placement might be from two rather different areas of the same occupational area, or the connecting link between their OJT and on-the-job placements might be a rather flimsy one of convenience.

The trainees had mixed feelings with regard to this area. For example, in answer to the question 'Is your work experience (on-the-job) training relevant to your off-the-job (that is, do the skills you learn on your OJT fit in with your work experience?), a total of 50 per cent answered 'Yes', 24 per cent answered 'No' and 24 per cent were unsure.

However, by breaking down these results, significant findings at the appropriate critical value were found. Table Five, for example, shows 80.2 per cent of basic funded trainees claimed that the skills that they learn during their off-the-job training fit-in with their work experience, compared with only 51.4 per cent of premium funded trainees.

This finding is also apparent when we examine the subjects taught during OJT. In order to ascertain the 'goodness of fit' between subjects and their relevance to the trainees' work experience placements, they were reduced to five broad subject categories (see Appendix One). Each trainee was asked to state the relevance of such topics as they progressed through the scheme. Although the subjects associated with the 'occupational area/the world of work' and 'business calculations' did show mixed responses from trainees, within and between each occupational group, such as, 'relevant', 'not relevant' or 'don't know', thus revealing no general or significant findings, further responses towards the remaining subjects showed major differences again between basic and premium funded trainees.

Trainee responses to the subject of 'keyboarding and computers', for example, although prompting a negative response from the majority of trainees (59.3 per cent), premium funded trainees were more likely than basic funded trainees to see this topic in a negative light. The subject of 'personal effectiveness' (personal development, social and life skills) prompted a somewhat different response as 72 per cent of the sample stated that this topic related to their work experience placements. Further breakdown of responses to this question, as can be seen from Table 5, reveal more significant findings at the .05 per cent level which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared Test. They show that 83.7 per cent of basic funded trainees stated that the subject of 'personal effectiveness' was indeed relevant to them, compared to only 38.4 per cent of premium funded trainees. The subject of 'communications' again showed similar patterns between the two categories of trainees with 93.7 per cent of basic funded trainees and 61.5 per cent of trainees on premium funding claiming that this topic was relevant.

These findings on trainee responses towards the relevance of OJT subjects suggest that basic funded trainees are more likely than premium funded trainees to align themselves with the formalised ideologies and official curriculum of the YTS. This is because basic funded trainees are on better quality schemes than premium funded trainees. Thus they see their chances of obtaining employment on scheme completion as being that much greater than premium funded trainees.

Table Five: Funding Category and Trainee responses towards the Integration and Relevance between On-and-off-the-Job-Training

	Trainees stating that there is integration between skills learnt on off-and-on-the-job training	Trainees stating that the subject of 'personal effectiveness' is relevant	Trainees stating that the subject of 'communications' is relevant	n = 150
Funding Category				
BASIC	80.2%	83.7%	93.7%	111
PREMIUM	51.4%	38.4%	61.5%	39

There is indeed a hierarchy of 'quality training' within and between basic and premium funded schemes. For example, a total of 27 per cent of trainees, the majority of which were on premium funding, were on different placements than those they were originally allocated. Many trainees were on their second, third or even fourth work experience placement within the same occupational area. Others have changed occupational areas (scheme hopped) due to the collapse of certain courses, whilst for some, they were situated in what they considered to be 'dead end' placements.

The following comments by two young people are typical examples of the kinds of experiences premium funded trainees are likely to encounter when placed on inferior schemes. The first statement is from Samantha, a catering trainee at Martons:

> I've been to an animal care centre, a cats and dogs home, a vet, then a boarding kennels. Now I'm here on this catering course. I don't like any of the schemes. I want to go into a factory when I leave the scheme. I wanted to work with kids from the beginning but I wasn't allowed to.

Whilst George, also a catering trainee at Martons comments that:

> The first placement shut down, then I moved on to the bus station (canteen) for a couple of weeks, then South West Skills moved me 'cos I wasn't getting enough training. Then I moved to the canteen at the Townhall and that closed down. I then went to another place and now I'm here at the F.E. canteen and I've been here for the past eight months. They (South West Skills) should visit the placements and see what they are actually like before we join it.

Obviously, the basic funded trainees in the occupational groups of retail, clerical and social care also experience difficulties due to inadequate monitoring and lack of integration between on-and-off-the-job training. However, these problems are less severe for the basic funded retail trainees at the Danby Centre, relative to the basic funded trainees on clerical and social care courses at the Marton Annex, simply because, as discussed in chapter six, the staff at Marton Annex have had their overall scheme management and monitoring duties curtailed. As the comment from George, above illustrates, this situation is compounded further for premium funded trainees at Martons because they are placed on inferior schemes, relative to trainees on basic funding.

An important point here is that for many trainees, despite being placed on inferior schemes, they do demand a certain amount of respect and dignity. The MSC/TC/TA and the Government may have grossly underestimated the frustration and anger such schemes are creating for these young people. Many trainees do try and do a 'good job' whilst on their placements, others are still struggling to find their way, whilst many are still exploring their relationship to the workplace.

However, finding work on completion of the scheme is a priority for the majority of trainees. The YTS is seen as a 'passport' to the jobs that they desperately seek. For instance, in answer to the question 'Which of the following would you prefer to be doing over the next year?', a total of 75.3 per cent stated 'a job' as their first choice. The 'YTS' was regarded as a second choice by 56.7 per cent with 53 per cent considering 'Further Education' as third choice, whilst 'unemployment' was listed as the fourth preference by 74.7 per cent. A further 14 per cent stated 'a good career job' in preference to the four choices above, with another 7.3 per cent stating that they would prefer to 'Travel and Work Abroad'.

It is not surprising that the trainees stated 'a job' as their first choice because the majority of them realise that this would give them access to the wage, thus access to 'a better standard of living'. Furthermore elements of societal ideologies, specific to working class cultural activities highlight the notions of 'status' 'respectability', 'security' and 'psychological well-being' which are associated with gaining employment. It is also not surprising that stating 'YTS' as the second choice is as a result of this variable most resembling a traditional job. It follows that 'unemployment' would be seen as the last choice, whilst 'further education' is placed third because this variable is farthest removed from activities associated with employment.

Again, significant findings at the 0.5 per cent level and which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared Test, were found when the results were broken down further. Table 6, for example reflects the premium funded trainees acceptance of the fact that they are less likely than basic funded trainees to obtain a job, or enter F.E. after YTS. They are also more likely than those trainees with basic funding to accept 'unemployment' and to see their scheme placements as inferior.

Table Six: Funding Categories and Trainee Preferences for the Future

Funding Category	First Choice 'JOB'	Second Choice 'YTS'	Third Choice 'F.E.'	Fourth Choice UNEMPLOYMENT	n = 150
BASIC	80.2%	60.4%	60.4%	81.1%	111
PREMIUM	61.5%	46.2%	33.3%	56.4%	39

Thus, for premium funded trainees it is not simply the case that they are less likely than trainees with basic funding to align themselves with the official purpose of the new vocationalism, but also, they are more likely to show fatalistic characteristics towards their future. Furthermore, the assertion by Raffe (1984) that the chances of young people finding employment do not depend on 'scheme quality' but on the 'quality of labour markets', although a valid explanation, does not go far enough. It should also be added that it does help a young person's chances of obtaining even a 'menial' job, if they are placed on schemes which reflect elements of the labour market where there are jobs. The basic funded trainees in this research, for example, are more likely to obtain jobs on leaving YTS than those placed on the premium funded schemes. This situation also applies whilst trainees are actually on the scheme, for instance, out of the 56 trainees who were missing from the original sample (ten months into the fieldwork, see chapter five) only one premium funded trainee left the scheme early to obtain a job compared to a total of 22 trainees on basic funding, the majority of which were clerical trainees (see Appendix Two).

sought to tap the different degrees of alignments that trainees have towards the formalised ideologies which were concretised in the YTS curriculum. Thus, pro and negative questions were put to the trainees. The point here is that if this official ideology does not influence trainee philosophies then we need to locate, describe and analyse those particular ideologies that do influence them during their participation on the off-the-job training. For example, the question: 'YTS is only a way of taking young people off the dole for a while?', was agreed with by 50 per cent of the sample, with a further 30.7 per cent being undecided. However 92 per cent of trainees felt that the 'YTS gave them useful work experience'. The question: 'YTS provides employers with cheap labour' showed high levels of agreement with a figure of 76 per cent, whilst 52 per cent expressed agreement with the question: 'YTS is the Government's way of making you work for your dole money?', with a further 27.3 per cent expressing a neutral position. Still further, the majority of trainees, 87.4 per cent, showed various levels of agreement towards the statement: 'YTS offers you a better chance of obtaining a job', whilst 92 per cent of the sample stated that the 'YTS gives you useful work experience'. Also, a very substantial amount, 92.7 percent, of respondents agreed with the statement, 'spending two years on YTS is better than spending two years on the dole'. On the whole the trainees do appear to have quite positive attitudes towards the official ideology of YTS. However, Chapter Eight will show that it is the societal ideologies of 'class' and 'gender' which dominate their thoughts.

No significant findings or general trends were apparent between the sexes in regard to these questions. However specific attitudinal patterns were found between the five occupational groups and between basic and premium funded trainees. For example, the strength of trainee feeling towards these questions, in general, depends on their placement on a particular scheme. This in turn depends on the status of each occupational group. We can measure the status of each occupational group in four ways. First, by the funding category and educational qualifications of the trainees in them. Second, the more professionally run schemes which minimise the problems of integration between on-and-off-the-job-training.

Third, trainee welfare and general conditions of service as they pass through this process. The fourth and most important point, from the trainee point of view, is the likelihood of them obtaining employment which depends to what extent the scheme reflects the spaces in the youth labour markets where there are jobs. Seen from this perspective a hierarchy of quality schemes does exist. This hierarchy consists of the occupational group of clerical at the top, followed by retail, social care, catering and construction. It may seem that the retail scheme should occupy the highest status position because the staff at the Danby Centre are more able than Marton staff to oversee the whole scheme, thus avoiding scheme integration problems. However, this status position is occupied by the clerical group because they have more qualifications, and are more likely to obtain jobs (as stated earlier) than premium funded groups.

It follows thus, that the strength of trainee agreement towards these same questions, in general, corresponds with the occupational group status hierarchy. Therefore, higher percentage rates of agreement were recorded by clerical trainees, compared to trainees on retail and social care courses and in turn, by social care trainees compared to catering and construction trainees. Trainee responses towards further questions however, did reveal many significant findings at the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared Test. Table Seven, for example, shows the different strength of trainee feeling towards two such questions. It illustrates that the higher status position an occupational group has, then the greater likelihood of pro-YTS responses from trainees. Conversely, the lower status positions of a particular occupational group increases the chances of anti-YTS responses. Thus, a pro-YTS question, such as, 'YTS is a good start to adult life', reveals a grading of positive responses ranging from 87 per cent of clerical trainees expressing the strongest levels of agreement, followed by retail, 71 per cent, social care, 62 per cent, and the two premium funded groups of catering, 58 per cent and construction 49 per cent.

Table Seven, also shows similar patterns of trainee responses towards anti-YTS questions again at the 0.5 per cent significance level which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared

Table Seven, also shows similar patterns of trainee responses towards anti-YTS questions again at the 0.5 per cent significance level which reached the appropriate critical value in a Chi-Squared Test. Therefore, in answer to the question: 'YTS is nothing like a real job' it follows that the strongest level of agreement was recorded by the two premium funded groups of construction, 61 per cent and caterers, 55 per cent and in turn by the basic funded groups of social care, 46 per cent, retail, 33 per cent and clerical trainees, 20 per cent.

Table Seven: Occupational Group Status and Trainee Alignments with the Scheme

	YTS is a good start to adult life			YTS is nothing like a real job?			
Occupational Group	Agree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Disagree	Neither	n = 150
Clerical	87.0%	6.6%	6.5%	20.0%	67.0%	13.0%	15
Retail	71.0%	5.0%	24.0%	33.0%	44.0%	23.0%	61
Social Care	62.0%	11.0%	27.0%	46.0%	37.0%	17.0%	35
Catering	58.0%	28.0%	14.0%	55.0%	20.0%	25.0%	21
Construction	49.0%	38.0%	13.0%	61.0%	22.0%	17.0%	18

Continuing with these scheme alignment trends the majority of trainees mentioned something that they liked about the scheme. Table Eight below shows that a total of 22.7 per cent of trainees mentioned the 'work experience' during their on-the-job training, as being the best part of the scheme. However, a substantial amount 26.6 per cent felt that the 'residential periods' and 'day trips' away from both the on-and-off-the-job-training was the best part of the scheme. These periods range from 'scheme related day trips' to one-week 'Outward bound' courses. The 'Water-Front-Centre' in Bude is a typical example. Trainees participate in activity courses such as, canoeing, climbing, self-defence, orienteering and so forth. Many trainees described this period as a 'holiday atmosphere' or 'a bit like girl guides'. It allowed them to 'make friends with young people from all walks of life' and gave some, 'the freedom to do what you want' or to 'learn things by listening to other trainees'. Several trainees saw

this period as being 'job specific', thus allowing them to learn 'teamwork', 'groupwork' and 'coping skills'. Other trainees 11.3 per cent mentioned the best things as 'making friends'. In fact a total of 25.3 per cent stated that they had learnt 'work skills'. A further 14 per cent mentioned that they had learnt 'personal confidence' and 'coping methods', whilst 6.7 per cent said they had learnt to work with others.

Table Eight: What are the best things to have happened to you on the scheme so far?

(I mean events that have made you feel really good)

	%
Trips away from on-and-off-the-job training	26.6
The work experience (on-the-job)	22.7
Nothing	12.7
Making friends	11.3
Obtaining part one of City and Guilds/RSA	7.3
Being appreciated	2.7
Missing Data	16.7
Total	100 (n=150)

Again, trainee responses towards these questions tended to be reflected by the status of their occupational group. Therefore, basic funded trainees were more likely than premium funded trainees to cite 'day-trips', 'work experience', 'making friends' or obtaining 'city and guilds' as the best things to have happened to them whilst on the scheme. Significant findings at the appropriate critical value were also found, for example, 20.5 per cent of premium funded trainees compared to 9.9 per cent of basic funded trainees stated that 'nothing good' had happened to them. Furthermore, 28.8 per cent of basic funded trainees compared to 15.4 per cent of premium funded trainees suggested that they had learnt 'work skills', whilst 17.1 per cent of basic funded trainees argued that they had learnt 'confidence skills' compared to only 5.1 per cent of trainees with premium funding. One

basic funded trainees claimed that the 'worst thing' to have happened to them whilst on the scheme was the regular late arrival of their allowance.

In fact, trainee opinions in regard to the actual amount of money paid to them is one area where no general trends or significant differences between trainees was found. A very large majority of the sample, 90.7 per cent, showed levels of agreement with the statement 'the YTS allowance money is not enough'. The majority also argued that they were 'overworked and underpaid', with only four trainees receiving any form of 'topping-up' allowance by their work experience employers. Therefore the vast majority of trainees were obtaining either £29.50 for the first year and £35 for the second.

However, elements of 'formal ideology' which seek to lower the wages of school leavers could be said to be impinging on the aspirations of these trainees to a certain extent, because when they were asked to state what they would like to be paid, their 'ideal wage' was still far below what could be considered to be an adequate allowance. Yet it is more likely that this is as a result of the trainees holding a realistic attitude towards the labour market.

This re-occurring phenomenon uncovered by the research - that the occupational group status influences trainee responses towards the scheme - is not just apparent in data obtained from the questionnaire, but also from the interview data. On the one hand, for example, trainees situated in higher status schemes are more likely than trainees situated on lower status schemes to offer constructive comments towards the YTS with many of them trying to 'make-the-best-of-a-bad-job'. On the other hand, trainees at the lower end of the occupational group hierarchy were more likely than trainees on higher status groups to see the scheme in a more negative light, often complaining bitterly about their situation.

The following trainee comments are typical examples of the ideological dilemmas facing trainees. The first is from Mandy in a high status clerical group.

> I think there should be a sort of condition, that if an employer has a YTS person and he or she isn't taken on because, either there are no jobs or because the employer wants a new YTS person, then the employer shouldn't be allowed to take YTS trainees on. If they don't employ you then they shouldn't be allowed to have another trainee for at least twelve months.

Whilst Andrew, a retail trainee on the next status occupational group down argues:

> employers are now realising that from the ages of sixteen to eighteen, they can get YTS. I'm seventeen and because I'm seventeen, they won't take me full-time. What's the point of getting someone for £70 per week? I wouldn't be surprised if they, 'the big bosses' in head office, were saying, 'no we're cutting our full-time staff, so we're going to employ, say, two YTS people'

Debbi, a social care trainee on a medium status scheme suggests:

> I've been at my placement for eighteen months and she (employer) said originally, 'yes we'll keep you on, you've got a job'. Then just before Christmas I said 'look are you keeping me on, yes or no?' and she said, 'look I'm not sure, I don't think our money is very good'. So she kept me there mucking me about. She didn't want me so I said I was leaving and she said, 'we'll have to phone up for another YTS person then'.

Trainees on the two lower status schemes, of catering and construction, offer the following comments which are typical amongst premium trainees:

Kerry (catering)

> ...the Government are all right aren't they? They don't have to go on stupid schemes. They're sat there with their thousands coming in everyday. They'll put YTS up to three years next.

Whilst Mandy (catering) expresses the views of several of her colleagues when she angrily announces that the scheme is:

> slave labour work and if I have children I will not let them on this fucking scheme.

The majority of construction trainees at the foot of the occupational group status hierarchy tended to blame the Government and the Prime Minister, in particular, for their plight.

Mike:

> There's not enough money for the work you do and Thatcher should stop being so tight and get her finger out and do something about it.

Andrew:

> Maggie Thatcher should be kicked to death because she is just trying to put everybody on these schemes.

What this section shows is that the trainees are not ideologically incorporated into the scheme, but the chances of them aligning with the official purpose and formalised ideological linguistic packaging of YTS is influenced by the occupational group that they are situated within. Thus, it is as if, to a certain extent, these official elements actually pass by the trainees. However, these official elements are interwoven with elements of an array of societal ideologies, thus, all the trainees - to varying degrees - subscribed to the dominant conceptions of the social order which have been ideologically strengthened over the past decade of Conservative Government. In general, these trainees possessed a moral framework which promotes the endorsement of the existing social order (this phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter Eight).

Trainee Alignments with their Trainers

The position of an occupational group within a status hierarchy not only forms an important variable which influences trainee alignment with the official curriculum and ideological packaging of the YTS, but also it affects the responses that trainees have towards what could be argued to be the mediators of this YTS philosophy - their trainers. This can be illustrated by examining trainee responses to the question: 'Who do you most trust on the scheme?'. Table 9 shows that the largest response categories 32.6 per cent stated their 'trainer'/tutor, followed by 13.3 per cent who stated 'friends', 10.0 per cent, their 'work experience employer-supervisor' and a further 8.0 per cent stated 'work mates'.

Table Nine: Who do you most trust on the scheme?

	%
Trainer/Tutor	32.6
Friends	13.3
Supervisor/Employer During Work Experience Placement	10.0
Workmates, Whilst on Work Experience	8.0
No-one	6.7
Self	2.7
Missing Data	26.7
Total	100 (n=150)

Further breakdown of these results, although not revealing any significant findings, does show that in general, trainees on higher status occupational groups are more likely than those on lower status schemes to see their trainer/tutor as a person that they can trust, who is helpful, reliable and patient throughout the whole scheme. More significant findings at the appropriate critical value were found by crosstabulating the funding categories of basic and premium. Table 10, for example, shows that 42.3 per cent of basic funded trainees saw their trainer/tutor as the person they most trusted compared to only 5.1 per cent of premium funded trainees.

Table Ten: Basic and Premium funded trainees and trainer/tutor 'trust'

	Seeing Tutor/ Trainer as Most Trusted Person on YTS	Seeing Tutor/ Trainer as Reliable	Seeing Tutor/ Trainer as helpful and and patient	n = 150
Funding Category				
BASIC	42.3%	27.9%	29.7%	111
PREMIUM	5.1%	15.4%	2.6%	39

A total of 27.9 per cent of basic funded trainees saw their

trainers/tutors as reliable compared to 15.4 per cent of premiums, whilst a further 29.7 per cent of basic funded trainees compared to only 2.6 per cent of trainees with premium funding saw their trainers/tutors as being 'helpful and patient'.

Relative to other categories mentioned by the trainees, this high level of both the 'help' given by the trainers towards their trainees and the 'trust' that the trainees have for them are not unexpected findings, simply because, as mentioned in Chapter Six 25 per cent of trainer time is spent on dealing with 'individual trainee problems'.[1] This caring philosophy exhibited by the trainers is also manifested during the 'profiling process'. For example, 74 per cent of the total trainee sample showed levels of agreement with the question: 'I can talk freely with my trainer/tutor about the statements he/she writes about me'.

However, the strength of trainee agreement towards this statement again reflects the influence of the status associated with a particular occupational group. For example, 93.3 per cent of clerical trainees agreed with this statement, followed by 77.2 per cent of retailers, 70 per cent of social care, 62 per cent of caterers and 59 per cent of trainees on the construction scheme, whilst, more significantly, 78 per cent of basic funded trainees showed levels of agreement compared to 61.6 per cent of trainees with premium funding.

The same general trends were found when trainees were asked to express their feelings towards the remaining six questions on the profiling process (See Appendix One, Question 19). Thus high status occupational groups, such as clerical are more likely than low status occupational groups, such as construction, to agree with pro-profile statements and disagree with anti-profile statements. More significant findings which reached the appropriate critical value can be seen between the funding categories within these occupational groups.

Table Eleven, for example, shows that 91.9 per cent of basic funded trainees agreed with the statement: 'Profiling allows me to take part in my own assessment', compared to only 56.4 per cent of premium funded trainees. Whilst 78.3 per cent of basic funded trainees, compared to 61.6 per cent of premium funded trainees, claimed that they could 'talk freely' with their tutor 'about the statements written' about them. Still further, 73.9 per cent of basic funded trainees compared to 48.7 per cent of trainees with premium funding suggested that 'the main purpose of a personal profile is to monitor their progress'.

Table Eleven: Basic and Premium Funded Trainees and responses towards the Personal Profile Process

	Profiling allows me to take part in my own assessment	I can talk freely with my tutor about the statements he/she writes about me	*The main purpose of a personal profile is to monitor progress	n = 150
Funding Category				
BASIC	91.9%	78.3%	73.9%	111
PREMIUM	56.4%	61.6%	48.7%	39

* This result emerged from the open-ended question. (See Appendix One, Question 19).

The same general trends also emerged when trainees were asked to state how often they talk to their trainers about a series of issues such as, their experiences during both on-and-off-the-job training, their personal problems, their positive and negative characteristics and their futures on scheme completion. It was found that trainees in the higher status groups discussed these topics on a more regular basis with their tutors than those on lower status schemes.

For example, Table Twelve shows a selection of the most significant findings which reached the appropriate critical values in relation to the basic and premium funded categories. It can be seen that basic funded trainees (63.1 per cent) were much more likely to

discuss their experiences 'every month' with their trainers than were the premium funded trainees (30.8 per cent). Basic funded trainees (79.3 per cent) were also more likely to talk to their trainers 'every month' about their 'experiences whilst on their work experience', than were premium funded trainees (41 per cent). Whilst 35.1 per cent of basic funded trainees, compared to 20.5 per cent of trainees with premium funding, discussed their futures, on scheme completion, 'every month' with their trainers. The fact that a trainer held a holistic or NOP ideology did not affect the trainees' alignments with them. The most important influential variable here, as already stated, was the status of the occupational group that the trainees were placed within.

Table Twelve: Basic and Premium Funded Trainees and discussions with their trainers/tutors

	Discuss experiences whilst on OJT every month	Discuss experiences whilst on work experience placement every month	Discuss future every month	n = 150
Funding Category				
BASIC	63.1%	79.3%	35.1%	111
PREMIUM	30.8%	41.0%	20.5%	39

Occupational Groups as Class Fractions

We can hypothesise from the research data so far that the small number of YTS trainees, nationally, that are linked to the more prestigious schemes, such as the Information and Technology Centres (ITECs) would be more likely than those trainees linked to the Construction Industry Training Boards (CITBs) to register greater levels of pro-scheme responses, whilst these trainees in turn would, no doubt, show greater levels of pro-scheme alignment than the 150 trainees which make up this research.

This phenomenon is also apparent in the very recent study by Riseborough (September 1989) who focusses on young people on non YTS vocational courses held at Colleges of Further Education. These 'Catering and Hotel Management' BTEC students, claims Riseborough, are not ideologically incorporated into the official curriculum of this National Diploma course, but they do display high levels of commitment towards it. This is because such courses tend to have certain glamorous elements, are prestigious, and most importantly of all, offer access to reasonable jobs.

Other studies of class fragmentation, more generally, show that classes are fractured by employment categories, consumption sector cleverages and ideologies associated with these positions. For example, Thompson (1968) presents the most detailed historical account of the emergence of class fractions within the working class. In terms of status, his distinction between 'artisans and others' is relevant. More recently, Jones (1984) also provides an historical account of the development between 'respectable working class' and the 'residium'.

In the context of the recession of the 1970s and 1980s further class fragmentation has emerged. Mann (1984-1986), for example, identifies 'residualized sectors' and a 'state claiming underclass', within the working class. Additional layers of cleaverages, this time associated with 'consumption' have been documented by Saunders (1979) who suggests that the working class is fragmented by their housing which is an independent dimension of stratification, thus dividing the working class between affluent owner occupiers and the public rented sectors. Dunleavy (1980) however, argues that the 'consumption' sector is multi-dimensional, involving access to owner occupation, private transport and private fiscal welfare. Therefore, the working class is divided between the affluent majority and the minority who are dependant on the state in these three areas.

More generally, Roberts et al (1977) focuses on the spread of traditional working class categories towards middle class groups. Pahl (1984), on the other hand, concentrates more closely on 'work'. Therefore, the working class is divided according to access to work

opportunities. Thus, some working class households are 'work rich' and are therefore affluent. They belong to Pahl's 'middle mass'. Conversely, some working class households are 'work starved', poor and belong to the 'underclass'.

In this thesis it can be seen that the 'occupational group' that a trainee belongs to is the main class fraction variable. A process of complex fragmentation has developed. Thus, within the working class sectors of society, those young people following an F.E. vocational trajectory, such as the polytechnic orientated students in Riseborough's study are at one extreme, and have slightly greater life chances than ITEC and CITB YTS trainees, who are further along this continuum. Whilst these trainees, in turn, have a greater access to society's resources - that is, jobs, training, education, status etc - than the 150 trainees involved in this research who occupy the other extreme.

It follows then, and as indicated already, that a further series of more subtle class fractions is occurring between the five occupational groups, thus forming a further hierarchy of levels associated with trainee life chances. The 'occupational group' variable, together with specific behavioural and ideological elements associated with off-the-job-training, all have important roles to play in the cultural and social reproduction process. The off-the-job-training arena reproduces trainee labour power because it screens them into specific segmented youth labour markets (cultural reproduction). This phenomenon itself forms one element in the reproduction of the complete social formation (social reproduction).[2] Thus, the YTS provides a mechanism of cultural and social reproduction within the context of a segmented youth labour market.

Ideologies cement this process of cultural and societal reproduction. Yet, is is not the official curriculum of YTS or its formalised ideological packaging that perform such a function, as these are resisted by trainees to various degrees. It is the vast array of societal ideologies which restricts any form of 'really useful knowledge' emerging in the off-the-job training centres. It is the societal ideologies which intertwine within and between each other and

act as a series of subtle mechanisms which cement the cultural and social reproductive processes of - what could be said to be - the restricted everyday reality of YTS trainees. It is these ideologies which impinge on the trainees specific cultural meanings, their social class and their gender. The next chapter will show how this process takes place.

Some Conclusions

There are four main points that emerge from this chapter. First, certain societal ideologies and practical achievements of YTS trainees influence the screening processes when they are selected for placements onto the YTS. This in turn influences their placements onto 'good' or 'bad' quality schemes. As each occupational group reflects segmented youth labour markets, then this means that trainee life chances are influenced before, during and after YTS, simply because the YTS acts as a 'reproducing mechanism' which filters trainees into a segmented labour market. Second, there exists a strong relationship between the occupational groups that trainees are placed within, and their alignments with the official curriculum of the YTS and its associated formalised ideology. This shows that the formalised ideology of the YTS, to a certain extent, passes by the trainees, as they tend to display instrumental alignments towards the scheme.

Third, that the same phenomenon occurs when examining trainee values and opinions towards - what could be said to be the reproducers of this formalised ideology of YTS - the trainers. Fourth, implicit throughout this chapter has been the development of the occupational group status hierarchy as a new subtle form of class fraction within certain sectors of the working class. The point here, is that within the YTS, elements of old class fractions are being reproduced. However, elements of new class fractions are also reproduced, thus, off-the-job training and YTS in general can be seen as new mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction. Further important variables in this process, as we have seen, are not the formalised ideologies, of the Government and the MSC/TC/TA which are concretised in youth policy initiatives and the curriculum of YTS,

rather, it is the array of societal ideologies which form the most prominent mechanisms in this reproductive process.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIETAL IDEOLOGIES: THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION OF THE YOUNG WORKING CLASS THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF Y.T.S.

It has already been indicated that the off-the-job training curriculum is one site of struggle between the official YTS curriculum and that of trainees and trainers. I have also explored the ways in which trainers win space away from the formal curriculum to assist their own ideas of learning in a classroom setting. In this chapter I will examine how the trainees use this space, the levels of meaning they give to it and the ways in which class, sex, and gender ideologies are imported into this arena. It will be shown that although differences exist between the occupational groups as to the influence that societal ideologies have on the trainees within them, one theme that unites all the trainees is that they all - to varying degrees - offer no radical challenge to cultural and social reproduction, in fact they reinforce this process. It will be demonstrated that the off-the-job training arena and YTS in general can be seen as holding mechanisms which allows the hegemony of societal ideologies to flourish, thus aiding the cultural and social reproductive process of capitalist society.

In order to demonstrate this an account needs to be given of the activities which take place during the OJT classroom and workshop sessions. It is necessary in every OJT arena for the trainers and trainees to participate in a series of negotiations of one kind or another. The trainees and tutors are opposed groups. Some tutors offer sympathy, others are more authoritarian, whilst the trainees indulge in their own subversive ideologies which go against the official curriculum of YTS. Both parties each try to maximize their interests in opposition to the other. As mentioned in chapter six, the majority of these OJT sessions took on - to varying degrees - the appearance of a 'youth club atmosphere'. Yet a working consensus still needs to be established. Within this consensus, the trainees are allowed to employ their own personal strategies.

Societal Ideologies, Trainees and Off-the-Job Training

The following dialogue, activities and general behaviour patterns, which occurred during participant observation is a typical example of the kinds of consensus that take place between trainers and a group of retail trainees. This particular observation covered a whole morning period at the Danby OJT Centre involving 36 trainees consisting of 20 females and 16 males. Two, holistic, female trainers, Sally and Pam, took charge of the whole group.

The initial 30 minutes of the proceedings involved the majority of trainees 'settling down' at their desks which had been positioned around the parameters of the room to form a large 'C' shape. During this period, several late comers arrive, talking rather loudly. Sally informs the group that today's subject will concentrate on projects which relate to the retail industry. She then gives an account of the official purpose of such projects, emphasising scheme components such as 'product knowledge', 'flexible skills', 'problem solving', 'social etiquette skills', etc. etc.

After Pam explains the 'competence objectives' expected from the trainees by the end of the morning session, they then begin to walk around the room gathering project utensils and stationery. Three pairs of trainees proceed to the kitchen to obtain coffees and teas from the vending machine, whilst several others produce soft drinks, snacks and crisps from their holdalls and bags. Approximately 45 minutes into the session and the majority of trainees are seated in small clusters of threes and fours, eating drinking and chatting as they work. This activity is conducted against a back-drop of rather loud pop music supplied by a male trainee's radio, whilst both Sally and Pam, slowly walk around the room, pausing at the small groups of trainees to offer advice, answer questions and give assistance. An activity which occurs throughout all the participant observation sessions is that many of the trainees will utter statements, out loud to the whole group. These comments which tend to be on sexuality are often completely out of context, or unrelated to the particular subjects being studied. The trainees tend to know each other quite well therefore these utterances are tinged with humorous connotations.

For example, a male trainee, Mark, interjects suddenly with the following statement:

> 'He's a pouf you know.' 'Who is?', asks Carl: 'Martin is', replies Mark, to the sniggers of several trainees.

Whilst Daron, who having eagerly inspected the bruise on a female trainee's neck, exclaims:

> 'Looking at the state of that your boyfriend must have been giving you some stick. How long is it since you had a good bonk Debbi?'

Debbie: (jovially)

> 'Not since this morning'.

Again, followed instantly by laughter from several trainees.

As the morning progresses the behaviour of the trainees becomes more boisterous, for example, several male trainees begin to swagger around the room collecting, in a rather hap-hazard fashion, project accessories. One particular trainee, Jamie, struts across the room imitating a cowboy by gesturing a gun movement from the hips and exclaiming (to no one in particular) 'reach for the sky'. This is followed by Phil, who 'duck walks' across the room, Chuck Berry fashion, whilst simultaneously singing along to the rock group 'AC/DC's' latest single, 'Heat-Seeker' screeching out in ever increasing decibels from the radio.

During the morning break a group of trainees disperse into small clusters for private conversations in the two adjacent rooms, whilst a further six produce copies of the tabloid press, predominately 'The Sun', and hold a discussion about some of its rather more salacious stories. A further group leave the OJT Centre completely to visit nearby shops. After the break the remaining hour of the three hour session is spent in a series of similar activities, only now the few previously quiet trainees also indulge in boisterous behaviour. Thus, as these trainees gathered project materials, used the photo-copier, cut-and-pasted, took refreshments, indulged in horseplay, flirted with the opposite sex, teased and sexually embarrassed each other, the ideologies of class, sex and gender could be seen to be working

through them and was acted out in their discourses which focussed on courtship, marriage and their families, and entertainments such as, going to pubs, discos, and pop concerts. In other words it resembled a Youth Club atmosphere, or more specifically, a series of subversive activities.

There exists a general consensus towards all this behaviour by the majority of trainees. Some would see their colleagues actions as 'just having a laugh', others, in a kind of jovial contempt and by several as interfering with their own social discourses and boisterous activities.

When trainees were asked to explain their activity during this process, typical comments were as follows:

Susan: We don't see each other much because we are out at work, so when we come back to college we can catch up with the gossip and that ... you just write as you talk and if it gets interesting then down go the pens.

Julie: Even when we talk about these things and mess about we still do the work, I mean we still get on with it.

Whilst Karen argues:

... the Youth Club atmosphere is OK ... I'm as bad as the rest of them. The reason for OJT is to be able to mix with our own peer group, being able to talk. Not many people can actually stand up and talk about what they feel. If you can't talk then you can't express your feelings and off-the-job college allows us to be able to do this.

Both Sally and Pam, who are holistic trainers, are much more likely than NOP trainers to accept this trainee behaviour, only checking them if they become aggressively boisterous, or begin totally to neglect their work. Indeed, although the ethnographic research did not reveal differences between retail, clerical or social care trainees, in regard to the strength of their boisterousness, differences were apparent between these groups and those of catering and construction trainees. In other words, premium funded trainees are more likely to display aggressiveness and use profane words or acts than are those trainees with basic funding. Let us not forget then, that training YTS trainees is a very demanding job. In fact, a

scheme co-ordinator responsible for over twenty trainers suggested, during interview, that every year:

> ... we tend to get one or two teachers who are new to it and last about three or four weeks and leave teaching altogether ... in fact, one of the biggest reactions I get from my teaching staff is 'shock' at the things that these youngsters say and do in class.

What the standard lesson consists of then - that is, the things that trainees and trainers do and say during OJT - could be said to be a more extreme version of Woods (1983) study of the relationships between school teachers and their pupils. Like Woods' teachers, the YTS trainers allow - to various degrees - their trainees to 'have a laugh', 'indulge in horseplay' and other youth club activities. Whilst the trainees lived reality involves snapping around the edges of the institutional rules associated with the official curriculum of YTS. In other words the trainers allow their trainees to participate in activities and conversations that reflect societal ideologies associated with their class, gender, and sexuality.

It is not being suggested here that the official YTS curriculum is being completely ignored by both holistic trainers and their trainees, as the majority of these retail trainees are willing to study (as were the majority of the total sample). However, they do indeed, view the space obtained during OJT in the same light as holistic trainers, that is, as an arena whereby they could take-a-break from the more rigorous activities associated with their work experience placements. Yet within this space the trainees seek the comfort of their own reality. Thus, sexual banter, boisterousness etc is the norm for these young people and creates a bond between the sexes. Similar findings can be seen in Lees (1986) work on adolescent girls.

The space within off-the-job training allows the trainees to distance themselves from the formalised ideologies associated with the official YTS curriculum. This situation applies, not only to those retail trainees, but to the whole sample, and again is influenced by the particular occupational group that a trainee is situated within. We have already seen that it is not the official curriculum of YTS or its formalised ideological packaging which forms the main element in

classroom consensus - whether between trainees and trainers or between male and female trainees - rather, it is these societal ideologies of class, gender and sexuality that form the, often fragile, cement of consensus. As stated earlier it is these societal ideologies which occupies the trainees' time and restricts any form of 'really useful knowledge' from emerging. Thus, the average off-the-job training session does not create a platform which enables the trainees to either be aware of cultural and social reproductive processes or to exhibit any form of challenge towards these reproductive mechanisms. Instead, their subversive activity is a way of accommodating YTS, rather than changing it. These trainees are not simply empty receptacles which are exposed to societal ideologies rather, societal ideologies of class, gender sexuality etc live through them and are mediated through the negotiating behaviour that they employ. In this sense, societal ideologies within the YTS curriculum indirectly socialises trainees into the status quo.

Societal Ideologies, Clerical Trainees and Female Gender Specific Behaviour

At certain times during off-the-job training, one particular element of these societal ideologies may have a more prominent role to play than others in this reproductive process. Furthermore, it follows from chapter six, that those trainers who hold NOP perspectives and express themselves in a practical consciousness mode, with routinised discourses, are in fact, less likely than holistic trainers to challenge or disturb these patterns of cultural and social reproduction. Hence, the inequalities in life chances associated with the scheme continues.

Let us now focus on another participant observation session in order to demonstrate this point. The following dialogue between Emily, an NOP clerical trainer and an all female group of ten trainees took place at the Marton Annex. It is an example whereby both the trainer and the trainees reinforce the cultural and social reproduction of 'female-gender-specific' behaviour patterns and belief systems. It also serves to illustrate how the 'ideology of sexuality' is intertwined with the 'ideology of gender', both of which in turn, are linked with an array of societal ideologies associated with working class culture.

This off-the-job session concerns a 'letter writing exercise' and was one hour in duration.

Trainer: This lesson is about marriage and how it is beautiful ... laughs.

Debbi: She means nice, not beautiful.

At this point Emily, the trainer, proceeds to read out an elaborate letter about 'marriage rituals' and instructs the trainees to summarise its contents.

Debbi: (referring to letter)
What does this letter say, is it a 'b' or a 'p', a pee, a pee?

(group laughter)

Trainer: Now lets have five minutes of being serious.

Trainer: (to KP)
Are you married?

KP: Yes

(giggles from several trainees)

Trainer: Oh, so you have done the dirty deed?

Jane: That's not very nice, nothing wrong with marriage is there girls?

(group agreement, nodding of heads)

These comments prompted several trainees to hold conversations on their boyfriends, courtship, marriage and engagements.

Andrea: (to Sharon)
When did you get engaged?

Sharon: Christmas.

Andrea: How long have you been going out together?

Sharon: For over a year.

Andrea: Bleeding ech!

(Sharon, now proceeds to show her ring to the rest of the group who examine it eagerly)

Susan: (to the whole group)
My boyfriend's away.

Angela: I've got three boyfriends on the go.
...(laughs)

(giggles from several trainees)

Susan: (to trainer)
Have we done this letter exercise properly?

Trainer: Yes you've made a nice beautiful display.

Debbi & Angela:
Bootiful, bootiful.

Trainer: Yes, bootiful.

The trainer now proceeds to walk around the room inspecting the trainees work.

Trainer: (to Sharon)
You will complete the exercise in a bit.

Debbi: She's getting a bit tonight.

(giggles from whole group)

During the completion of the exercise all ten trainees involve themselves in manicuring, studying their complexion and general make-up activities.

Debbi: (to trainee)
What time is it?

Trainer: Look you can go home only when I say.

Debbi: Does this letter have to be proper?

Trainer: Yes, proper Queen's English.

Andrea: (to Sharon)
Stop fiddling with that pencil,
(sings) it's naughty, naughty - but nice.

Angela: (to whole group)
Cilla Black wears mini skirts and she's about 50, she just ain't got the legs for it.

Trainer: Or the figure.

Debbi, Andrea and Angela: (begin to sing the TV theme tune)
Surprise, Surprise.

Trainer: What does best attention at all times mean? (referring to the marriage letter exercise)

Debbi: I don't know, I just type it 'cos the boss tells me to.

Angela: She's a dumb blonde you see.

Kirsty: We haven't got time to do this exercise.

Trainer: Yes you have and lets get it done today girls.

Debbi: (to trainer)
The company that we are writing to (referring to exercise) are they all men?

(giggles from whole group, tutor declines to answer)

Angela: (to trainer)
What does this bit mean?

(refers to letter)

Trainer: Now don't let's go into too much detail.

Susan: It's quarter past.

Trainer: No it's not, I'm not having it ... laughs.

Lesson ends and the trainer collects the exercises.

There are several institutionalised ideological components taking place here which form networks that reinforce female gender specific roles. First, sexist ideologies are a part of the wider societal ideologies and are sedimented, historically, into the cultural fabric of society. It follows therefore, that these ideologies influence both trainers and trainees affecting their behaviour and discourses, for example the trainees grooming activities, their constant youth club banter sexual ambiguous statements and their media-induced stereotypical comments at their own and other women's expense. What can be seen to be taking place here is that the official curriculum of the YTS is being subverted, but the cultural and social reproductive elements of societal ideologies take 'centre stage' in trainee discourse, whilst the trainer colludes in this process to win consent.

Second, Emily, the female trainer, no doubt, deliberately chooses 'gender specific' teaching materials as a survival strategy in order to hold the attention of her trainees. Yet by so doing, she is subconsciously reinforcing these sexist ideologies which again, work against her own and her trainees interests, simply because it encourages gender specific behaviour and beliefs to continue whilst, also, restricting any form of equality of opportunity from emerging. These elements are reflected, for example, by Jane's comment of: 'nothing wrong with marriage is there girls?' and 'Angela' seeking a higher status position within the group by claiming she has 'three boy friends', thus indicating how efficient she is at 'getting a man' and also, by the status elevation of 'Sharon' by several of her colleagues because she has been engaged for over a year.

The point here is that such is the power of 'marriage', 'engagements' - the 'ideological structuring of familialism' - that it 'pervades ... virtually every cultural genre' (Barrett and McIntosh 1982 p130). Thus, for females to court males, to become engaged, marry and have children, all these activities carry a high social standing and avoid the social stigmas associated with being 'unattached', 'alone', a 'spinster' or a 'lesbian'.

The comments in this OJT setting also work against the trainees' interests when they attribute 'gender specific labels' onto certain female activities. For example, the comment by 'Angela' that Debbi is a 'dumb blonde' and her negative attitude to a fifty year old woman, Cilla Black, wearing a mini-skirt. Both these examples and the general behaviour and discourses which take place throughout this session, all reflect sexist ideologies which encourage women to behave in 'certain ways' at 'certain ages' for 'certain reasons'. Any attempt not to conform to, or agree with these gender specific roles is seen as a 'social and gender' deviation with a corresponding reduction in human status and citizenship.

What can be seen to be happening here is that the space created during OJT may be used by the trainees to 're-charge their batteries' from the rigours of their work experience placements, or this space, may indeed, be used as an outlet for involving themselves in a series

of enjoyable day trips or social events. Yet these clerical trainees, in fact the whole sample, do not use this space as an arena allowing for discourses on developing a critical awareness of their 'personal' and 'political' positions on the scheme, or within society generally. As stated earlier, this space has not generated 'really useful knowledge', rather it has allowed these clerical trainees to indulge in female gender specific ideologies which do not challenge their gender specific jobs (cultural reproduction) or their gender specific societal roles (social reproduction). Thus, as stated in Chapter Four, the off-the-job training arena is the latest in a long line of male dominated institutions which allows the ideologies of sexuality to flourish. In this sense, the training arena is indeed a new mechanism in which women's oppression is secured. Furthermore, this situation is aided and abeted by the trainees themselves, simply because the ideology of sexuality is a lived experience and works through them and is acted out in their day-to-day activities.

In other words, this research shows that these clerical trainees, who are a subordinate group, have not become conscious of the nature of the value system which legitimates their subordinate position. The research has found no evidence that the 150 trainees which make up this study have produced a 'counter hegemony' which would challenge their subordinate positions. Rather, it is the hegemony of societal ideologies which influence their lived experiences. Thus, the off-the-job training arenas are of crucial importance here, because they form a series of holding mechanisms which allow societal ideologies to flourish. Indeed, what can be seen to be taking place is that the space created by the trainers within the off-the-job training arena, which reprieves the trainees from the rigours of their work experience placements, does in fact, fail to challenge the cultural and social reproductive process. Thus, although this space does not result in the formalised ideologies associated with the YTS curriculum to dominate the thinking of YTS participants, it is the societal ideologies of class, gender and sex that take centre stage in their philosophies. In this sense, they are class, gender and sex blind. Thus, as the thesis has shown, just as formalised ideologies mask inequalities based on class, sex and gender, then so too, do societal ideologies. In other words, YTS

participants fail to see class, sex and gender inequalities actually being reproduced by class, sex and gender ideologies.

Societal Ideologies, Construction Trainees and Male Gender Specific Behaviour

The last section showed the influence of societal ideologies on female trainees experiences and opinions during the off-the-job-training element of YTS. This phenomenon also occurs during the trainees' work experience placements. Evidence for this can be seen from the interview data with a group of all male construction trainees.

K.P.: Can you explain your experiences with the older workers whilst you are on your work experience placement?

David: A bloke who works with me said that when he first left school he got paid sixpence or something like that. He moved from trade to trade 'cos they would offer him one penny more and in the end he got a good job for one shilling a week. They say that if you worked it all out then their wages were just as low as ours are today.

Mike: They make it sound like easy work and that we have got it easy compared to the hard times during the war. They say you've got to be hard and stand your ground otherwise you'll get kicked in.

K.P. What is it like on the building sites where you work?

Peter: Well we have a good laugh and that on the site.

K.P.: What sort of things happen when you have a good laugh?

Peter: You get wet, you get buckets of water over your nut.

Ian: Yeah and the older ones are always winding me up.

K.P.: Someone tell me about a typical day of messing around.

Mike: Well you might get one foot shoved in a bucket of water and the other in a bucket of cement and they'll keep you there until it goes hard.

K.P.: What do the older workers say to you when they do these things?

Ian: Well they say because you're new to the job you are going to get christened. Initiation, that's it. I got my arse painted I did.

Simon: Yeah, they try and paint me bollocks.

David: Yeah, my mate had his balls painted and he had to get it off with petrol.

Mike: Yeah, and it stings like hell, its like acid.

Simon: During the summer you get wet all the time with buckets of water.

Mike: Yesterday I was driving around in the dumper and a shovel full of crap was thrown at me and I drove into a wall and got bollocked for it. Once this bloke poured water out of his flask onto my knee. This led to a bit of a fight and I got dismissed from the site. I've since been taken back on. It was my fault 'cos I hit him first ... One lad, they tied him to the motorway bridge that they were building and he stayed there for about two hours.

K.P.: So far, you've mentioned initiation rituals, horseplay, violence etc, why do you think this happens?

Mike: Well it always has done. I mean when you were new at school you would get your head put down the loo and they would flush it.
(Group laughter)

At this point in the interview the trainees entered into a series of giggles, inaudible utterances, one syllable pronouncements and general unintelligible language. The gist of this was that they were concerned about how the older male workers on the site would tease and encourage them to make sexual advances towards the female office staff associated with particular building firms. Prompted by this behaviour the following question was asked:

K.P.: During your work experience, on site, does your conversation with the older workers centre around women on a regular basis?

Ian: Oh yeah, you always talk about women don't you? Everytime they walk past you say 'drop your knickers' and that
(group laughter)

K.P.: What do the older men say to you when you mention these things about women?

Ian: Well, they are just as bad, one of them was talking about 'wanking' the other day.

Mike: They say, 'Oh I had a good fuck last night' and all this crap. Then they say, 'did you have one?' If you say no they say, 'What's wrong with you are you bent or something?'

K.P.: Is this teasing wrong do you think?

Mike: Well, it isn't wrong its just that they go too far after a while.

Ian: Well, I suppose they're only having a laugh.

K.P.: Do you ever have any women working on the site with you?

Mike: Oh yeah, we do. She's a bit of a bricklayer on a course or something (not YTS). She's a right slag, she's all for it. The other day it was nice hot weather and we were out the back 'mixing up' and she took her top off and her fucking bra and she's just stood there with nothing on the top. Well everyone stopped work.

(group laughter)

Ian: There's this girl who lives in one of the completed houses on our site and she's Swedish. Anyway, she's always wearing next to nothing like.

K.P.: Do the older workers talk to these women.

Ian: Yes, and they tell us to fuck off and all that but when the girls are around they try to 'sweet talk' them like.

Mike: Yeah and if she's a right dog they try and set you up with her.

(group laughter)

K.P.: How do you think the women feel about being treated this way?

Ian: Oh, I don't think they mind, I mean the Swedish girl hangs her knickers on the door handle.

(group laughter)

Mike: Yeah, yesterday this bird came walking past the site and she had a low cut top on, cut down to here (gestures with hand). She had very big tits (group laughter) and we said 'hey you big tits', and she went and told the foreman, so we got into trouble about that.

K.P.: Do you think its fair to say these things to women and generally treat them like sex objects.

Mike: Well some of them like it and some don't.

Ian: Well that's what they're there for. I mean its just a laugh, but some of them take it seriously. It's only a joke.

K.P.: Yes, but does the same thing happen to men?

Mike: If they was all women on the site and two blokes walk past then I reckon you would get it then, like, 'hey you big dick', or whatever.

K.P.: Do you think that these stories, conversations, horseplay, and so on, occurs on all sites?

Simon: Yes, I mean, I heard a story about a young lad on a building site where they hoisted him up on a crane above these offices where there was women and that. He had no clothes on and they just left him there with all the girls looking at him from the windows.

(group laughter)

What this interview data shows is that the social influence and approval of male gender specific behaviour patterns and discourses is passed on between generations, thus emphasising that it is an element of the institutionalization of cultural and social reproduction. Older male workers encourage these young male trainees to conform to the sexual division of labour and sanction this with initiation rituals. This activity occurs on most building sites throughout the British Isles, indeed in all working class male dominated occupations, where a 'rough', 'tough' physical labour process is required. Thus, these rituals are well established and form just one element of the cultural reproduction of a section of the young male working class towards gender specific jobs.

These older workers also ideologically incorporate young trainees into modes of sexist thought, machismo, sexual assault and horseplay,

and general male dominated views on wider society. Thus, these trainees tend to see life from a kind of working class, sexist, male orientated culture. These practices, together with male socialization processes that these trainees have been exposed to before they enter the scheme all fuse together creating a 'common sense', 'that's the way it is', 'taken for granted' world view, thus aiding and abetting just one aspect of the social reproduction of the young male working class.

This 'common sense' view is reflected in Mike's comment concerning the long established initiation rituals which occurred during his school days and is continuing in his work experience placement. It can also be deduced from Ian's media-induced stereotypical responses towards the sexual promiscuity of the 'Swedish girl' and his sanctioning of the sexist treatment towards females by suggesting: '... that's what they're there for' and 'It's only a joke'.

This section has shown that it is not simply the case that a straight forward indoctrination process of hegemonic societal ideologies has taken place in regard to YTS trainees, thus restricting any 'really useful knowledge' from occurring. Rather, societal ideologies are institutionalised (see chapter three). Therefore, a saturation of consciousness has taken place, via the meanings, values and practices which are already deeply embedded in the social structure in which we live. Partly because these are already part of the life around us, accepting them makes sense of social reality and therefore is easy. However, chapter three also pointed out that dominant ideas are also a part of societal ideologies, therefore, at the same time societal ideologies are being reinforced.

In this sense, although all the trainees, to varying degrees, do hold subversive ideologies towards the official curriculum of YTS and its associated formalised ideologies, they have been exposed to a lifetime of societal ideologies before they enter the scheme. Therefore, their family, schooling and working class cultural experiences, aid the process of cultural and social reproduction enabling them to operate more smoothly by producing a consciousness in which they seem legitimate. It follows that although one element of

hegemony - the concretised formal ideology of the YTS curriculum - may be a weak link in the total mechanisation of cultural and social reproduction, this situation is compensated by a chain of societal ideologies which have impinged on the trainees' personal biographies.

We have already seen how societal ideologies of class, sex and gender, work through the YTS trainees, affecting their lived experiences. The next section will focus on two components of the ideology of gender - the ideologies of 'motherhood' and 'domesticity'.

The Prominence of Female Gender Specific Roles through the Medium of the Occupational Group of Social Care

It has been shown that trainees are exposed to an array of societal ideologies both during their on-and-off-the-job placements. This results in the continuance of gender roles, whether they be directed towards specific youth labour markets (cultural reproduction) or towards the total formation of society (social reproduction). Let us now examine how female gender specific roles become even more prominent through the actual work experience practices associated with the occupational group of 'social care', and its associated gender ideologies of 'motherhood' and 'domesticity'.

The 36 social care trainees who made up the sample were located in work experience placements either in homes for the elderly where many of their clients are senile and confused and in need of constant need of nursing, or they may be caring for children in nurseries who were often sick and needed much attention. The stresses and strains due to the nature of their work experience placements was a major problem encountered by many of these trainees. In fact the 8.7 per cent of respondents who stated 'emotional upset' as the 'worst thing to have happened to them whilst on the scheme' were all 'social care' trainees. Therefore in real terms 37.1 per cent of social care trainees claimed that they were 'emotionally upset' due to the nature of their work experience placements.

The on-the-job-training then, is quite a harsh experience for these trainees and from being questioned, interviewed and observed it became apparent that they had a much more mature attitude than

many other trainees in different occupational groups. Indeed as one of their trainers put it:

> They have had the edges knocked off them by the time they get to their second year of work experience.

The comments below represent the feelings of many of these trainees in regard to their traumatic work experience placements.

K.P.: Could someone explain to me a typical day at your work experience placements?

Amanda: Well you get 'em up (elderly clients) you wash 'em, feed 'em their breakfast, bath 'em, toilet 'em.

Tracy: We do their washing and cleaning for them.

Amanda: We're cleaners as well, we wash the floor and hoover up after them.

Sue: We also do O.T. (occupational therapy) with them, take them out and exercise them. It relaxes their muscles. From getting them up first thing you're a nurse, then you've got your rollers in (cleaner), and do a domestic job. Then at dinner times you're a chef.

Tracy: Oh, and I also go shopping for the clients and I have to choose their clothes.

Amanda: Yeah, and on Thursdays you've got your YTS hat on 'cos that's when we get paid.

(group laughter)

When asked to give accounts of their work experience clients the trainees offered the following statements:

Sue: Well you always get a favourite don't you wherever you are? You think 'Oh she's a dear', and then when they die you think 'Oh, I wish I hadn't known her that well'. You get attached to them but after a while you just learn to cope with it.

Michelle: I had an elderly client who I cared for. She got ill and she wouldn't let me go home or nothing. She said 'cuddle me' one day and I did. Later I heard that she died which really upset me.

Tracy: I think the most upsetting thing that I've had to do is when a little boy had something in his eye and I had to take him to the eye hospital. A week before that the hospital had to deal with a piece of wire in his eye

> and then he smeared hair gel in his eye by mistake. When I took him to hospital it was really horrible, 'cos they strapped him down and they wrapped this blanket right around his arms and all he wanted to do was kiss and cuddle me and I couldn't do a thing. I just broke down into tears when I got home. It was really bad, I wanted to kiss and cuddle him, but I couldn't because he was strapped in and they were poking around in his eye. When they let him go he just literally ran and jumped and gave me a good cuddle and that. It was really sad. It's the worst experience I've ever gone through.

Many of these trainees 'cope' with these problems by 'talking them through' with their trainers and friends or as indicated by the trainee below, they become 'hardened to it'.

> Well when they (clients) snuff it, they snuff it. I mean we all got to go sometime.

Other trainees show levels of commitment and hold a professional attitude to the job, the following comment from Tracy indicates:

> Well I take it home with me. If I'm upset I don't show the staff at work that I'm upset. I go home and talk to my dad and probably have a good cry. If I want a good cry then I have a good cry, but not at work and especially not in front of the children at work.

Whilst Sue suggests that due to the harshness of the work the YTS should be:

> ... like it was before, just one year. I mean you're eighteen years old and there's other people who've got jobs at eighteen and they have got proper jobs and they are probably not doing as much hard work as we do really ... I'm just glad it's all finished. Hopefully we can get out there with umpteen million unemployed and try to get a job, if there's anything there.

These aspects of the job have not, however, discouraged many of these 'social care' trainees from seeking 'caring careers'. Despite the apparently gruelling nature of these jobs these young women were quite prepared to accept them:

Beverly: I'm the only YTS girl left in my placement, the other two have left and she's (employer) got part-time workers in the morning and in the afternoon. I don't know why she just doesn't put me on instead of paying part-time workers. The children where I work and their parents are sad that I'm going 'cos they thought

> I was there permanently, but when I told them I'm not they weren't too pleased. The children are really attached to me you see.

These trainees seem to be defining themselves in a kind of 'youthful femininity' (Bates 1988). For example, a consensus amongst all the social care trainees was that 'they', as women, could cope better than men with the duties associated with being a social carer. Like the construction trainees, many social carers saw these gender specific roles in a 'common sense' fashion. In other words, it was almost as if they saw it as their 'natural' role to perform duties associated with domesticity and motherhood. When they were asked to explain why there were no 'young men' on these social care courses, for example, they responded with comments such as:
'I don't think men have the patience to be honest', or ... 'young men would most probably find it sissy' and '... anyway it's a woman's job'

Whilst, Jo-Anne points out that 'women are more caring than men anyway'. A more blunt explanation is offered by Vicky who suggests that men could not do a social carer's job because they are 'Wimps', although she does offer a statement which is an exception, rather than the rule, by pointing out that a social carer's role '... starts early doesn't it with girls given dolls and boys guns and everything'.

In reality then, the care assistant's job can be physically back-breaking and emotionally demanding which involves a series of servicing tasks, from bedmaking, food serving, bathing, nursing, shopping and so forth. For the trainees who work with the elderly these duties often entail sitting with the dying and laying out the dead. This goes against the official view of the social carer depicted in films such as, 'The Elderly and the Mentally Handicapped' which these trainees viewed during a particular participant observation session. This film shows the role of a social carer in colourful, modern overalls, working in clean, spacious homes, in picturesque grounds, with passive, sleepy, friendly clients. However, in reality, for many trainees it is a heavy duty job coping with difficult clients, both young and old, involving dealing with taboo subjects and butt-end jobs.

What can be seen to be taking place here and is supported by a similar study, Bates (1988) is that the social construction of gender based divisions of labour has for centuries depended on a vast array of societal ideologies and on particular social structures involving channelling of girls and women towards domestic, familial, nursing, mothering and general servicing roles which are accorded relatively low status and rewards. Family, mass media and education have been identified as strongly implicated in these processes which are interwoven in complex ways with social class divisions (e.g. see Sharpe, 1976; Deem, 1980; Barrett and McIntosh, 1982; and Walker and Barton, 1983). These ideological processes are also threaded throughout the 'social terrain', the 'new vocationalism' and, as is apparent the 'YTS'. Furthermore, recent evidence suggests that the growth of feminism and equal opportunities policies may have had little impact on the situation overall (Cockburn 1987).

The social care assistants have indeed 'had the edges knocked off them' and they have had to cope and develop a toughness and maturity during their work experience placements. Yet these females need to be able to accommodate to a brutalizing form of work without becoming brutal. Many would 'go home and cry' rather than display their distress to their employers and clients. The paradox is that the 'individual trainee problems', discussed in chapter six, actually results in aiding and abetting social reproduction. This is because these females have been exposed to the harsher side of life by 'growing up working class'. Thus, they are hardened by their previous experience which makes them perfect workers as social care assistants. In this sense, they 'police themselves' (see Abbott and Wallace 1990) into self-sacrificing femininity roles, thus, they are constrained from being too rebellious by their gender. Their gender specific roles become even more prominent, therefore, through the occupational areas of the YTS. Thus 'gender' helps to reproduce different levels of YTS. This phenomena is strengthened further, by the trainees being exposed to a mass of societal ideologies which intertwine within and between the following categories: 'social class' 'personal biographies', 'occupational culture of origin', 'occupational screening processes', 'occupational groups' and 'occupational destinations on leaving YTS'. All these factors form a hidden

curriculum which hastens and reinforces the trainees occupational identification with their role of 'care assistant', 'caterer', 'builder', 'retailer', 'clerical worker' etc.

It is not so much the concretised formal ideologies that form a hidden curriculum of YTS, rather, it is the array of societal ideologies which play a significant part in promoting further adjustments in trainee aspirations. It is these elements which dampen down any prospect, however slight, of a counter hegemony emerging amongst the trainees that would radically challenge their position. The final outcome is that societal ideologies socialise trainees into a segmented labour market with all its menial work, its low pay, its poor conditions of service and its restrictions in life chances. The paradoxical result is that although trainees resist their trainers and the official curriculum - to varying degrees - they never the less, subtly reproduce themselves as classes and gendered workers within a segmented occupational structure.

Some Conclusions

There are six main points that can be deduced from this chapter. First, as stated in chapter seven, trainees, in some senses, by-pass the off-the-job training system, incorporating instead, specific workplace occupational cultures from their on-the-job experience and from society generally. Two, this results in cultural and social reproduction taking place. Trainees learn not so much technical know-how, but how to acquire - again to varying degrees - the ideological and practical cultural meanings of a series of workers, whether they be in the social care, clerical, retail, catering or construction sectors of the labour market. Three, the off-the-job training arena and YTS in general, form a holding mechanism which allows the trainees to practice this, with greater or lesser collusion from their trainers. Four, this makes an interesting contrast to the succession of classic studies of schools which have, over the past two decades, demonstrated the resistance of working class teenagers to officially imposed middle class education (such as, Hargreaves (1967); Lacey (1966); Willis (1977); Corrigan (1979) etc). As these authors point out the cultural and social reproduction of the working class does indeed take place through the state schooling process.

However, this research not only confirms that the YTS is a new arena of reproduction, but also, there exists an array of much more complex, refined and subtle ideological reproductive mechanisms taking place.

Five, the official curriculum of YTS is about learning vocational skills etc. However, what this thesis has shown is that there is a huge number of other things to learn, or cope with, but which are not officially included, that is, the hidden curriculum, with its class and gender specific roles.

Six, resistances nevertheless do take place as the trainees import their own criteria of styles and adaptability and impose them on the curriculum from the 'bottom up'. Yet, as we have seen, resistances in the form of 'subversive ideologies' does not mean that they are progressive resistances. Thus, despite the fact that these trainees are not ideologically incorporated into the official YTS curriculum, it is the multiplicity of societal ideologies that produce the same end result - training for a specific job in a segmented labour market, and more generally, a specific role in the wider society.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

This thesis began by providing an explanation of the relationship between the following categories: the rise in youth unemployment, labour market segmentation, the loss of confidence in Britain's state schooling and the role of the Manpower Services Commission. Particular emphasis was placed on the function of ideology which intertwines within and between these categories. These factors needed to be discussed in order to demonstrate that the present is shaped by the past and to establish an appropriate conception of the social and ideological terrain from which the new vocationalism has emerged. This led us to see that the fragile position of young people in their attempts to obtain a living, after leaving school, must not be seen as problems associated with their inadequate personal characteristics, rather the aim was to show that when we consider the social positions of young people today we need also to take into account the influence of historical, economical, political and ideological factors.

Government vocational training and educational policy initiatives in response to the 'crises of youth unemployment' also needed to be placed in an appropriate context. Thus, it was shown that the rationale behind youth policy was not systematically well-thought-out, but was rather a series of desperate measures in the midst of rapid social change. Alongside these changes there emerged a series of formal ideological shifts by the establishment ranging from liberal to right-wing philosophies. These philosophies have been directed towards labour market curricula, both in and out of school which tend to reflect the interests of employers and therefore, do not provide the appropriate conditions for the emergence of 'really useful knowledge', or the emergence of a counter hegemony. Thus it was shown that there is a mix of educational ideology and training ideology in a contested arena between formal and holistic ideologies.

The thesis sought to describe, analyse and explain the above in order to establish an appropriate sociological agenda from which to place the YTS participants and the research project itself. It became necessary therefore, to delve beneath the official formalised philosophies and discourses of the policy makers and to conduct research on how YTS participants actually carry out and receive these imposed training and educational initiatives.

However, like all sociological research this thesis does have limitations. It could be argued, for example, that I too have an holistic ideology and that I too am influenced by formal and societal ideologies, thus creating a series of ideological dilemmas for myself which could influence the generation and analysis of the research data? It is possible also, that my role as a 'male', when interviewing female trainees could produce different research findings than that of a female sociologist? Griffin (1985) for example, shows that by being female it enhanced her rapport with the 'typical girls' in her research.

Further, my participation on the trainers' duty rota could have had an affect on how YTS participants interacted and responded towards me? The trainees, for example, could have seen me as a 'teacher' and reacted accordingly, whilst the trainers may have regarded me as another member of staff. These are valid questions which could have produced biased research findings. However, I was able to guard against this by using the following theoretical and methodological tools.

First the triangulated method of inquiry was used during the process of data generation (see Chapter Five). Thus, questionnaires, participant observation, group and individual interviews combined to produce a richer account of the research topic under investigation. Thus, if the validity of, for example, the interview data obtained from female trainees was in question, due to my role as a male interviewer then this could be cross referenced with similar interview data obtained from their trainers. Similarly, data generated during my role as a trainer could be examined for bias

by checking it with data obtained from fieldwork where I did not perform the trainer's role.

Second, the knowledge learnt by studying the 'concept of ideology' can be utilised as a way to discover an array of formal and societal ideological processes. Therefore, I was able to place my own holistic ideology in an appropriate position within the framework of the research. These tools, together with my own personal biography and the use of the sociological imagination, did produce a series of unbiased research findings.

A further question is how far does the research context change the content of the research findings? For example, the thesis was concerned only with two off-the-job training establishments in the city of Surfton. Thus, do the same NOP, holistic gender and class specific ideologies exist amongst other YTS participants in Surfton, the South West or the whole of Great Britain and how far are they influenced by formalised ideologies? In other words how representative are the research findings discussed in this thesis? Historical factors also affect the research context. As already stated in Chapter Four, researching the YTS is indeed researching a moving target as the scheme is in a constant state of flux with an array of policy changes directed at the structure, design, context and organisation of YTS. The situation is compounded further in 1990 with a return to full employment in certain areas of the country and with the new Youth Training initiative having similar characteristics as Employment Training for adults.

The context of any research obviously does have an affect on the content of the research findings. However the same general underlying principles and themes that have been discussed in this thesis do exist in any training and educational arena whatever, the geographical position. In this sense the research findings discussed here are representative. What differs is the frequency, strength and impact of such findings and the sociological context of the research. Indeed, the reflexive way that I have used the concept of ideology, the triangulated method, my personal biography and the sociological imagination not only is flexible enough for researching other training

and educational establishments, but it could be used by sociologists for investigating other research topics. How do formalised and societal ideologies, for example, influence the health service, the police service, and the judicial service? Does the police service consist of officers who hold holistic ideologies and others who align themselves with the concretised formal ideology of the official legislators? Do nurses and doctors have different ideologies and do they create their own autonomy within the official parameters, rules and regulations of the hospital? How do formal and societal ideologies manifest, mediate and intertwine between say, 'the law of precedent', 'judges', 'plaintiffs' and 'defendants'? These theoretical and methodological tools then, can be applied in other research contexts. In regard to this thesis they were utilised to discover a series of important research findings.

The research findings showed how formalised and societal ideologies are manufactured and filtered down to YTS participants. The research demonstrated how formalised ideologies of certain members of the Government and MSC/TC/TA personnel become official ideologies through the medium of their social policy initiatives towards young people, their jobs, training and education. These official ideologies are then mediated within the YTS curriculum. This phenomenon, in turn affects the philosophies, motivations and behaviour patterns of both the trainers, who implement this curriculum and the trainees who receive this curriculum. Thus, YTS participants may support, reinterpret or subvert the official curriculum of the scheme by actually bringing meaning into their lived experiences via societal ideologies associated with their historical, positional, family, class and gendered backgrounds.

What the research demonstrated further is that state policy decisions which affect YTS participants show up the contradictions in the policies themselves. It was not simply a matter of documenting what happens in practice by pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of the application of such policies, I also, wanted to make visible the tensions, contradictions and incompatible aims which are often encompassed in the policies themselves. This thesis, for example, was not about showing that class, gender, race and labour

market divisions existed within the YTS: that was already clear. The research aimed rather, to explore the ideological mechanisms by which class, gender and labour market inequalities were nonetheless being perpetuated year by year.

The research identified an array of micro sociological elements, such as the class fractions and subtle societal ideological mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction that occur, even within just one section of the working class. Thus, the thesis has shown not that there are variations between strata in life chances: again this is already known, but that there are also variations within each stratum. This led us to see that trainees are screened before entering the YTS by a variety of elements - class, gender, academic qualifications, parental attitudes and the careers services - and then placed onto high or low status occupational groups even within the average schemes which made up this research.

Despite this phenomenon the majority of trainees still try to 'make-the-best-of-a-bad-job' although they do have an instrumental alignment both ideologically and practically with the official curriculum of the YTS, simply because for those that are placed on a low status scheme they know that it is that much more difficult to obtain any type of work - even menial work - then those trainees in the higher status schemes.

The thesis was not about trying to find out the 'true' views of YTS trainers and trainees during this process of the reproduction of inequalities in life chances, but rather, my aim was to establish what the informants' statements reveal about their ideologies and feelings and what sociological inferences could I make about the actual environment or events that they have experienced. I wanted to interpret the way in which YTS participants make sense of their realities. My research was able to expose the tension between the aims and the formalised ideologies of training which justifies Youth Training policies, the implementation of such policies and the ideologies of those individuals who experience them. Thus, this thesis has studied the application, effects and impact of policies, and

therefore contributes to existing knowledge on the microsociology of inequality.

This thesis was not just about exposing the subjectivity of YTS participants, but for the study of concretised, observable material processes manifested in the whole curriculum of the YTS. We have seen that YTS participants actually make sense of society via their historical, positional, family and class backgrounds. It has been shown that there are many intertwining levels of ideologies that influence the values, perspectives, social discourses and behaviour patterns of YTS participants. These findings are important because it allows us to find out the kinds of motivation people have and what the basis of these motivations are.

The combination of ideology, triangulation, personal biography and the use of the sociological imagination allowed the research to discover that all YTS participants - to varying degrees - are influenced by societal ideologies, which manifest themselves in common-sense, that's-the-way-it-is, taken-for-granted philosophies. They are also influenced by ideologies that are formalised in concrete form through the medium of policy initiatives on young people, their jobs, training and education. In the case of the trainers, two distinct ideologies were identified - the 'holistic' and the 'needs of production' (NOP) - which influenced their pedagogical practices in different ways. NOP trainers, it was argued, were more likely to hold pro-YTS ideologies, whereas, holistic trainers tended to display elements of subversive ideologies towards the official curriculum of the scheme and its associated formalised ideologies. Further, it was also demonstrated that both groups of trainers had worked at winning their own autonomy within the official YTS curriculum. Trainer motives behind obtaining this extra space, tended to reflect their particular ideological paradigms.

The thesis also demonstrated that trainee alignments with the formalised ideologies were seen to be influenced by the particular status of the occupational group that they were situated within. Thus 'bad quality schemes' produced anti YTS responses from the trainees and 'good quality' schemes prompted more positive responses.

Therefore, it was shown that the trainees tended not to be ideologically incorporated into the official curriculum of the scheme, but were institutionally incorporated. The trainees, like their trainers, have indeed won their own autonomy within the official YTS curriculum and to a certain extent, by-passed the formalised ideologies. The trainees bring into the scheme their own class, sex and gender specific ideologies which on the surface appear to be subversive, thus resisting the official purpose of YTS. However, in reality, these subversive ideologies are segments of a wider array of hegemonic societal ideologies. Thus, the OJT is of crucial importance here, because it allows these societal ideologies to flourish, which restricts any form of trainee counter hegemony emerging.

The result is that gender and class specific ideologies are more important than formal ideologies in the actual interactive classroom process. Formal ideologies, on the surface, are gender neutral and do advocate gender equalities, yet this is subverted by the trainees and replaced by gender specific ideologies of machismo, motherhood, domesticity etc. These gender ideologies are a part of their occupational cultures, therefore, the relationship between gender ideologies, class fractions, and occupational culture combine to filter these trainees into a segmented labour market.

These research findings add to the post Willis debate on the transition from school to work. As outlined in Chapter Three, Willis (1977) showed how the anti-school sub-culture of working class males results in the pupils allocating themselves into working class jobs. These insights were followed by research, such as, McRobbie (1978), Deem (1978) and Griffin (1985) who focus on the experiences of working class young women. Further insights into cultural and social reproduction amongst the young working class were provided by Jenkins (1983) and Brown (1987) who show that there are significant cultural variations within the working class. Jenkins argues that the different 'lifestyles' within the working class are important variables, whilst Brown focusses on the role of 'ordinary kids' that have been neglected by previous research. Wallace (1987) also highlights neglected variables such as young people's experiences and relationships with their parents, partners and peers. The point here

is that this thesis contributes to these post Willis studies by identifying many of the subtle ideological mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction that occur even within just one section of the working class - YTS trainees.

In this sense, the cultural and social reproductive process is much more subtle as these ideological mechanisms manifest themselves through the philosophies and behaviour patterns of YTS trainees, thus reinforcing their own class and gender specific jobs (cultural reproduction) and class and gender specific societal roles (social reproduction). This is how the trainees reinforce their own exploitation with greater or lesser collusion from their trainers. The paradoxical result is that the trainees socialise themselves into a segmented labour market. The point here, is that this thesis has allowed for the better understanding of the macro-micro debate in regard to the world of trainee and trainer consciousness.

Finally, there is a need to ask whether or not this cultural and social reproductive process can be challenged? The answer lies with the YTS participants themselves. We have seen that both the trainers and their trainees have worked at winning the space within the formal curriculum of YTS, thus creating their own autonomies. However, 'really useful knowledge' does not exist within this space, as the trainees' thoughts and actions are pre-occupied with gender and class specific ideologies, whilst the trainers allow this phenomena to take place offering no pedagogical strategies that could challenge this situation. Yet the potential for YTS participants to learn 'really useful knowledge' does exist in the spaces that they have won.

The scope already exists within this space which would allow the trainers, for example, to structure trainee discourse around classroom lessons, workshops, projects and group discussions. This would re-direct the trainees' energy back at themselves thus confronting their own prejudiced and stereotypical images of the world. Topics could include equality of opportunity between the sexes in regard to their jobs, training, education and, sexual relationships.

The trainees could study class inequalities also, and investigate why it is that working class youths are offered 'training', whilst middle class youth get 'education'. They could be encouraged to investigate, explore, and question these inequalities in an historical context and situate their own personal biographies in this process. Further, they need to examine their own views and activities which perpetuate this process. Thus, the space does exist for really useful knowledge to flourish, it just needs to be harnessed constructively. This would then allow the trainees to take control - however limited - of their own destinies.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

Chapter One

1. No assumption must be made in regard to the specific geographical location of the research, the training and educational establishments or the identity of those individuals mentioned.

Chapter Two

1. Stan Cohen (1972 p9) described 'moral panics' as follows:

   'Societies appear every now and then to be subject to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved, or (more often resorted to); the condition then disappears, submerges, or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the panic is passed over and forgotten ... at other times it has more serious and long-term repercussions and might produce changes in legal and social policy or even in the way society conceives itself.'

2. The TVEI was announced in November 1982 by the Prime Minister. In September 1983 the MSC introduced 14 pilot projects and by May 1983, only 24 Education Authorities were not taking part (in order to obtain the funding) TVEI is aimed at the 14-18 age group and offers vocationally based education and work experience.

   One of the problems with TVEI is that it has features of YTS within it. Thus, as Blackman (1986) points out this could mean that for many young people when they leave school and go on the YTS it would not meet their needs.

   The CPVE is a qualification aimed for those 16 year olds (who have completed compulsory secondary education) and would 'like to spend a further year in full-time education but do not intend to study for A-levels. At the start of the 1985/86 academic year, about 1,000 schools and colleges were involved in the CPVE and this number is increasing. Like TVEI it offers vocationally based education and work experience.

3. The term 'skill' is an ambiguous concept. It must be seen:

   'perhaps, as effective control over your own labour which permits the development of a wide range of capacities. In this sense a major contemporary trend is towards the deskilling of work. Fitting education to work, in this context, means deskilling education too.' [Johnson, 1983 p19]

4. It needs to be stressed here, in agreement with Lawn and Ozga (1981) that all education does not serve the needs of the state all of the time - 'if it did it would leave the demands for a better, well-equipped education service demanded by teachers and the labour movement looking very silly - an extreme case of historically consistent false consciousness'.
[quoted in Ozga, 1988 p4]

5. The term 'class' is a complex category. It should not be seen in a dogmatic structural sense, but rather, our conceptualisations of it should align with E P Thompson. He argues that:

'... class is not, as some sociologists would have it, a static category - so many people standing in this or that relation to the means of production - which can be measured in positivist or quantitative terms. Class, in the Marxist tradition, is (or ought to be) a historical category, describing people in relationship over time, and the ways in which they become conscious of their relationships, separate, unite, enter into struggle, form institutions and transmit values in class ways. Hence class is an 'economic' and it is also a 'cultural' formation; it is impossible to give any theoretical priority to one aspect over the other ... what changes, as the mode of production and productive relations change, is the experience of living men and women. And this experience is sorted out in class ways, in social life and in consciousness, in the assent, the resistance and the choices of men and women.'
[Thompson,, 1979] [Ozga, 1988 p5]

6. The term 'common sense' is used to illustrate that 'real education' should be about a criticism of:

'common sense basing itself initially, however, on common sense in order to demonstrate that 'everyone' is a philosopher and that it is not just a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone's individual life, but of renovating and making critical an already existing activity'.
[quoted in Gramsci, 1971 p29]

7. European comparisons show how small is Britain's commitment to systematic formal, vocational preparation. The NIESR Economic Review (1981), for example suggested that two thirds of the British workforce had no vocational training at all compared with one third of the workforce in West Germany.

Chapter Four

1. Calculating statistics on YTS trainees is problematic due to the large number of 'scheme starters' and 'scheme terminations' which occur each month. Thus, this figure represents a 'snapshot' count and therefore is an approximate guide. Indeed, other reports (YETRU, 1989) suggest that the figure is 435,000 trainees.

2. The term 'employee status' means that although their employer obtains YTS funding,the trainee does in fact, have the same rights, conditions of service, wages and job security as permanent employees. Table 1 (next page) shows that three quarters of employee status trainees can be found in just four regions [London, South East, South West and East Midlands]. In London, nearly a quarter of YTS trainees have employee status in contrast with less than 10 per cent in Wales. When the figures were broken down by gender, it was found that male trainees account for over three quarters of employed status places nationally - about 20 per cent of male trainees in training - whereas the comparative figure for women trainees is less than 10 per cent [Youth Training News, No. 48, July/August 1988]. The 150 trainees who took part in this research did not have employee status.

Table 1. Employed Status Trainees in Training

(% of all in each region - December 1987)

	% of Trainees with Employed Status
Scotland	14.0
Northern	10.0
North West	14.2
Yorks & Humberside	14.0
West Midlands	10.3
Wales	9.6
South West	16.0
South East	21.7
London	23.1
East Midlands	16.7

Source: Youth Training News, MSC, July 1988.

3. All these titles, and many more, are available from the National Extension College in Cambridge, and are common teaching aids in most Further Education College's staff libraries.

1. The 263 trainees excluded recent starters which had increased rapidly during the summer months of 1987 to a further 180, bringing a total of 443 trainees who were under the control of SWS.

2. Six of the missing trainees had since left the scheme, the remaining five were repeatedly absent.

3. The missing 24 trainees who were included in the original cohort of 150 are as a result of absenteeism, scheme leavers, scheme hoppers, death and group mergers. For example, on the 5th January 1988 a group of SWS premium trainees on the Building and Construction course disbanded due to falling numbers, which resulted in at least 8 trainees being lost.

4. We must be wary of attributing too much emphasis on using multiple sources of data as being useful in clarifying research problems. As Silverman (1985) points out, 'everything depends on the method of analysis'.

Chapter Seven

1. A total of 72.7 per cent of trainees stated that they 'never' talk about their personal problems with their trainers/tutors. On the surface this finding seems to contradict the statements by the trainers that 25 per cent of their time is spent on dealing with the 'personal problems' associated with their trainees. However, there are several reasons why the trainers' claims are correct. First, as discussed in chapter five, the triangulated method allows for the 'fusion' of methods towards the general aim of furthering understanding of a particular phenomena. Thus, the 72.7 per cent of trainees who stated on the questionnaire that they 'never' talk to their trainers about their 'personal problems' could be refuted by data obtained from a series of ethnographic methods.

   These methods allow us to see that these 'individual trainee problems' are implicit and part-and-parcel of the whole OJT process. Secondly, as indicated in chapter six, if the trainees do not see their 'personal problems' as problems, then they are not likely to state them as problems on a questionnaire.

2. Other variables, not analysed here do have a greater or lesser part to play in this process, such as 'geographical area' and 'race'. The latter, for example, is not discussed simply because ethnic groups are under represented in the County where Surfton is located.

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APPENDIX ONE: YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME QUESTIONNAIRE.

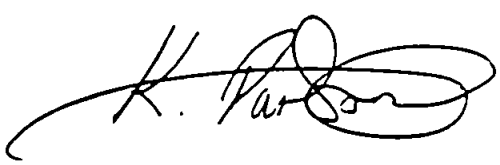
Youth Training Scheme Questionnaire

I am a researcher at Plymouth Polytechnic and I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself and about your opinion of the Youth Training Scheme.

This questionnaire is part of a wider survey being carried out by me in the Plymouth area and concerns the experiences of young people during their time on the scheme.

Please tell me how you feel as I will be very interested in what you say. All your answers will be treated with the utmost confidence, no-one will be able to identify your answers from the questionnaire afterwards.

Thank you for helping me.



Ken Parsons

(I-3)

1. How old are you now?
(Please tick the right box)

16	1
17	2
18	3

2. Are you:

Male	1
Female	2

(4)
(5)

3. Which of these groups do you belong to:

White	1
Black/African/Caribbean descent	2
Indian Sub-Continent descent	3
Asian	4

(6)

Other (please specify) .....

.....

4. During your 5th year at secondary school did you get any of the following qualifications?

		Yes 1	No 2	how many?		
a)	O level passes with grade C or higher or CSE grade 1			.....	(7)	(8-9)
b)	O level passes with a grade below C			.....	(10)	(11-12)
c)	CSE passes of grade 2 or below			.....	(13)	(14-15)
d)	RSA examination passes			.....	(16)	(17-18)

Other please specify and say how many

.....

.....

5. With the YTS scheme that you are on are you taking any other qualifications (BTEC, City & Guilds, RSA etc)

Yes	☐	1
No	☐	2

(I9)

If yes, please state which .....

.....

6. What type of scheme are you on (occupational area)?

Agriculture, Horticulture	☐	1
Building, Construction	☐	2
Distribution, Sales	☐	3
Engineering	☐	4
Factory, Manufacturing	☐	5
Artistic, Design, Hairdressing	☐	6
Hotel, Catering, Domestic	☐	7
Motor Trade, Transport, Warehouse	☐	8
Nursing, Caring, Social Work	☐	9
Office, Clerical, Management	☐	10
Recreation, Sport	☐	11
Other		
(Please specify)		

(20-2I)

7. Are you an employed or unemployed trainee (that is, are you on your scheme for 24 months or permanently)?

Employed trainee	☐	1
Unemployed trainee	☐	2
Don't know	☐	3

(22)

8. Who suggested the YTS to you? Please indicate by ticking only one of the following?

the careers service	☐	1
the job centre	☐	2
an advertisement	☐	3
your parents	☐	4
teachers	☐	5
friends	☐	6

(23)

other source (please specify below)

.....

9. Did you have an interview before coming on this scheme?

Yes, with the careers officer	☐	1
Yes, with the managing agent	☐	2
No	☐	3

(24)

10. Please answer all the questions below.
Before joining this scheme were you:

		Yes 1	No 2	
a)	given a selection of schemes to choose	☐	☐	(25)
b)	did you ask for this particular scheme	☐	☐	(26)
c)	is this the scheme you wanted	☐	☐	(27)
d)	was any pressure put on you to take it	☐	☐	(28)

e) if yes, by whom? (Please specify)

.....

11. Is the off-the-job training ,including vocational qualifications and personal development, in your YTS done as:

block release	☐	1
one day a week	☐	2
another way (please say what form it takes)	☐	3

(29)

.....

.....

12. Please look at the list of statements that are sometimes made about YTS and show by a tick in the appropriate box how you feel about each of them.

	Strongly agree	Slightly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly disagree	Strongly disagree	
a) YTS gives you useful work experience	1	2	3	4	5	(30)
b) YTS is only a way of taking young people off the dole for a while	1	2	3	4	5	(31)
c) YTS provides employers with cheap labour	1	2	3	4	5	(32)
d) YTS is the government's way of making you work for your dole money	1	2	3	4	5	(33)
e) YTS offers you a better chance of obtaining a job	1	2	3	4	5	(34)
f) the off-the-job training education is like being at school	1	2	3	4	5	(35)
g) YTS is a good start to adult life	1	2	3	4	5	(36)
h) the YTS allowance (money) is not enough	1	2	3	4	5	(37)
i) spending two years on YTS is better than spending two years on the dole	1	2	3	4	5	(38)
YTS is nothing like a real job	1	2	3	4	5	(39)

13. How worthwhile to you are the different parts of your scheme in helping you to learn skills?

	very worth-while	slightly worth-while	don't know	not very worth-while	not at all worthwhile	
a) the time spent in training at your off-the-job centre or college	1	2	3	4	5	(40)
b) the time spent working in a job	1	2	3	4	5	(41)
c) the scheme as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	(42)

14. Is your work experience (on-the-job) training relevant to your off-the-job training? (that is, do the skills that you learn in your off-the-job training fit in with your work experience).

Yes	☐	1
No	☐	2
Don't know	☐	3

(43)

15. Whilst you are on your off-the-job training how relevant to your work experience placement are the following subjects?

	very relevant	slightly relevant	don't know	not particulary relevant	not at all relevant	
) Key boarding, computers	1	2	3	4	5	(44)
) Social & life skills, personal effectiveness/ personal development	1	2	3	4	5	(45)
Occupational area/ World of work	1	2	3	4	5	(46)
Communications	1	2	3	4	5	(47)
Business calculations	1	2	3	4	5	(48)

16. Are you satisfied with the length of time (20 weeks over two years) that you spend on your off-the-job placement?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2 (49)

a) - if you answered no then do you think your off-the-job training should be:

More than 20 weeks ☐ 1
Less than 20 weeks ☐ 2 (50)

Please say why you feel the off-the-job training should be longer or shorter.

.....

.....

.....

I would now like to ask you a series of questions about your programme assessor/tutor.

17. Do you have an individual programme assessor/tutor on the scheme?

Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2 (51)

- if you answered yes, how many times have you seen this person since you started the scheme (that is, talked to your tutor about yourself on a one-to-one basis).

Please state number .....

18. Please show by ticking the appropriate box how often you talk to your programme assessor/tutor about the following:

	every week	every two weeks	every month	every two months	never	
) your experiences whilst on your off-the-job training	1	2	3	4	5	(52)
) your experiences whilst on your work experience placement	1	2	3	4	5	(53)
) your future after the YTS has finished	1	2	3	4	5	(54)
) personal problems (ie the problems that may happen in your private life	1	2	3	4	5	(55)
) your positive characteristics (ie your good points)	1	2	3	4	5	(56)
) your negative characteristics (ie your bad points)	1	2	3	4	5	(57)

19. Each YTS trainee is required to keep a personal profile or log book. Please show by a tick in the appropriate box how you feel about this profiling process.

	strongly agree	slightly agree	neither agree nor disagree	slightly disagree	strongly disagree	
a) Profiling is a fair way of judging the skills I have learnt whilst on YTS	1	2	3	4	5	(58)
b) Profiles are too much like school reports	1	2	3	4	5	(59)
) Profiling allows me to take part in my own assessment	1	2	3	4	5	(60)
) Having to work out my profile with my tutor makes me feel uneasy in the classroom	1	2	3	4	5	(6I)
) I can talk freely with my tutor about the statements he/she writes about me	1	2	3	4	5	(62)
) I do not agree with the statements that my tutor writes about me	1	2	3	4	5	(63)

What do you think is the main purpose of a personal profile?
(Please say below)

.....

.....

.....

20. How many of your close friends are on the YTS now? Please tick only one box.

None	☐	1
Some of them	☐	2
Most of them	☐	3
All of them	☐	4
Don't know	☐	5

(64)

21. Which of the following would you prefer to be doing over the next year. Put "1" for your first choice, "2" for your second, "3" for your third choice and "4" for the one you would least like to be doing.

a)	Further education	☐	(65)
b)	YTS	☐	(66)
c)	Unemployed	☐	(67)
d)	A job	☐	(68)

22. Is there anything that you would prefer to be doing in one year's time which is more important to you than further education, YTS, obtaining a job or being unemployed.

Yes	☐	1
No	☐	2

(69)

If YES, please specify

.....

.....

.....

.....

23. Please tell me what your parents do. Tick box 1 for your Father and box 2 for your Mother.

Are they?

	Box 1 Father	Box 2 Mother
- in full-time work	1	1
- in part-time work	2	2
- unemployed	3	3
- on a government scheme (eg Community Programme)	4	4
- retired	5	5
- in full-time housework	6	6
- unable to work (eg disabled)	7	7
- no longer alive	8	8
- don't know	9	9

(70-71)

- other (please specify)

.....

.....

If your Mother and Father have a job, please tell me the name of their job.

FATHER

.....

MOTHER

.....

24. What did your parents (or guardians) want you to do after you left school? Please tick only one box.

Further education	☐	1
YTS	☐	2
Unemployment	☐	3
A job	☐	4

(72)

Other (please specify)

.....

25. Are you ever absent from your off-the-job centre/college?

Yes	☐	1
No	☐	2

(73)

a) if you answered 'yes' then how often:

more than once a week	☐	1
more than once a month	☐	2

(74)

- why are you absent (please specify)

.....

.....

.....

.....

26. Are you ever absent from your work experience placement?

Yes	☐	1
No	☐	2

(75)

a) if you answered 'yes' then how often:

more than once a week	☐	1
more than once a month	☐	2

(76)

- why are you absent (please specify)

.....

.....

27. What are the best things to have happened to you on the scheme so far? (I mean, events that have made you feel really good)

.....

.....

a) Did you feel you learned something from this event? (What was this?)

.....

28. What are the worst things to have happened to you on the scheme so far? (I mean events that really upset you).

.....

.....

a) Did you speak to someone about it and did this help you?

.....

b) Did you feel you had learnt something from this event? What was this?

.....

29. Think of the person you most trust on the scheme who is she/he? And why do you trust them?

.....

.....

.....

30. Who has helped you most during your time on YTS?
(Please specify)

.....

31. Who has helped you least during your time on YTS?
(Please specify)

.....

32. If you would like to say something else about YTS, training, jobs or anything to do with this questionnaire, please do so below.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX TWO : EARLY SCHEME LEAVERS

REASONS FOR LEAVING THE SCHEME	OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS					
	Construction & Building	Retail	Clerical	Social Caring	Catering	Totals
Left for a full-time job		6	9	7	1	23
Left to look for a full-time job	1	2				3
Left for personal reasons		3		2	2	7
Left reasons unknown				2		2
Moved to a different scheme ie voluntary and scheme defunct	8	4		2	1	15
Dismissed		2			2	4
Left the area				1		1
Other reasons	1					1
Totals	10	17	9	14	6	56

APPENDIX THREE: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Taped)

YTS TRAINERS AND TUTORS

Name of Scheme .....

Address .....

.....

.....

Age ..... Male/Female .....

Name of Trainer/Tutor .....

---

1. Could you give me a potted history of your career and the origins of the scheme where you work?

2. Could you tell me what your feelings are towards vocational training and educational courses?

   (a) Do you feel that there is a need to increase vocational training for young people in preparing them for work?

3. Can you say what your general aims and objectives are in your work. Could you also say how these aims and objectives have been formed?

   (a) What are the main obstacles that restrict you in your work?

4. Do you believe that YTS training centres/colleges are better suited to meet the needs of industry than schools?

5. Is the YTS an adequate substitute for work?

6. In your opinion, what attitudes, forms of behaviour and skills are YTS schemes concerned to develop?

7. Do you think that vocational training is a more appropriate form of education/training for certain people?

8. Do you believe that vocational training schemes are here to stay? Please give your reasons.

9. Can you say what is meant by personal effectiveness (social and life skills)?

   (a) Do you feel that personal effectiveness is implicit in the whole of YTS?

10. During off-the-job training, a combination of subjects are taught to YTS trainees, including:

Word Processing	Keyboarding
Computing	Communications
Business Calculations	World of Work
	Social and Life Skills/Personal Effectiveness

   (a) Which of the above subjects do you see as being the least relevant for work?

   (b) Which of the above subjects do you see as being the most relevant for work?

11. In your opinion are the skills that the trainees learn on their off-the-job training integrated to their on-the-job training?

12. Profiling is a central part of YTS schemes. What are your general feelings about it?

13. Do you think that profiling is an effective means of assessing a trainee's level of skill?

14. Do you think that profiling systems are an effective way of motivating trainees in their work?

15. Trainers/Tutors have to pass/fail trainees and at the same time teach them, guide them and counsel them. Therefore, do you find a conflict of roles in this profiling process?

16. Do you believe that the process of negotiating a profile with a trainee gives you more/less control over his/her attitude, behaviour, skill and work in general?

17. Do you feel that having to negotiate a profile affects your position within the classroom or office.

18. Can you tell me what your feelings are towards the individual trainee problems that you encounter?

    (a) What amount of time is spent during your working week on these individual trainee problems?

    (b) What do you think is the cause of these problems?

19. When I observed you and your trainees in the classroom, the atmosphere was often far removed from traditional schooling, taking on the appearance more of a 'youth Club'. Could you account for this situation?

20. How do you see your trainees, for example, as 'young workers', 'school pupils', 'students', 'adults' etc?

21. It is a difficult job teaching teenage people, do you use survival strategies?

22. Does training and teaching YTS trainees result in you suffering from stress?

23. When you have attended meetings about YTS, or other similar vocational training schemes, do you find that your personal ideas about the aims/objectives of these schemes correspond with:

    a. those of your immediate colleagues;
    b. those of the organisers of the meeting (specify);
    c. those of the MSC;
    d. other individuals/groups.

24. Do you ever discuss the politics of YTS with your trainees?

25. Is there anything on off-the-job training, or the whole of YTS that you would like to change if you had a magic wand?